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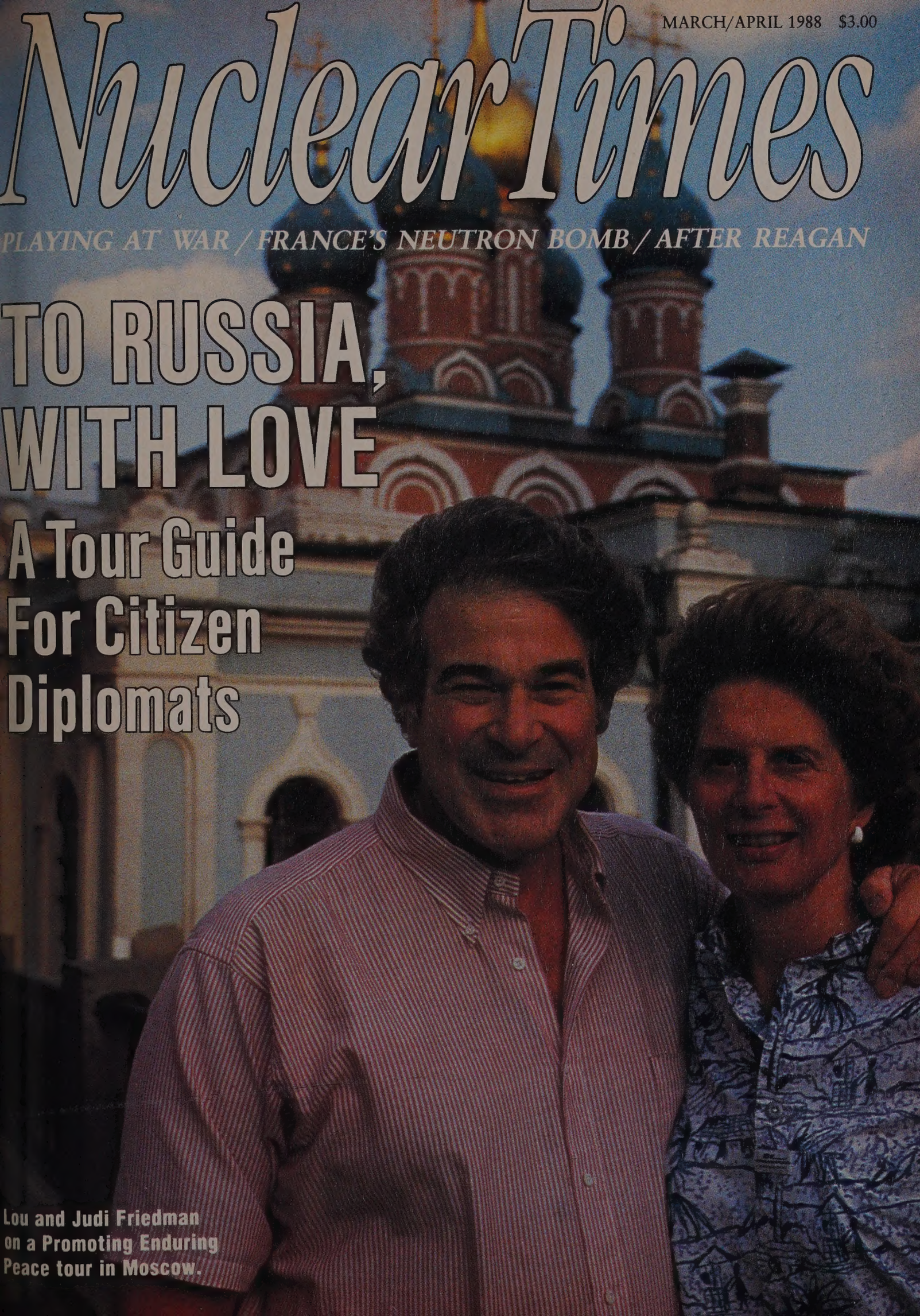

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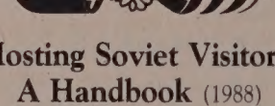

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LETTERS

Gorbachev's INF

Richard Healey's "Behind the Lines" article in the November/December 1987 issue credits the peace movement with bringing about the INF Treaty. I disagree and I feel this typical self-laudatory attitude in the peace movement inhibits the search for more effective strategies.

The INF Treaty has come about only because Mikhail Gorbachev accepted what had appeared to be unreasonable negotiating positions by the Reagan administration and dropped Soviet resistance to on-site inspections. Thus Ronald Reagan was left with no alternative but to agree to a treaty that conformed to U.S. proposals. And, as many observers say, Reagan wanted to be seen as the first president to negotiate an actual reduction in nuclear weapons.

During the past two years, some of us who are concerned with peace movement strategies have been critical of the movement's lack of support for Gorbachev's words and deeds. Now that he has succeeded, let's give him the credit he has earned.

In the same article, Healey says, "The Freeze, of course, is an excellent example of success with an extremely specific program." I fail to see how he can say the Freeze was successful. Certainly we did not get a freeze on nuclear weapons. The Freeze campaign did some good by arousing public concern about the nuclear threat. On the other hand, this new level of public concern may have been largely responsible for Reagan introducing his SDI program, the most dangerous of all the types of nuclear weapons deployment.

John Burton
Washington, New Jersey

Richard Healey responds: My comments were evidently unclear, for John Burton and I are largely in agreement. Burton says that the Freeze aroused public concern about the danger of nuclear weapons. I would say that the Freeze helped crystallize a growing concern about nuclear weapons and *Ronald Reagan. That concern translated into pressure on Congress year after year, into votes for Democratic and peace-oriented candidates in 1986, and into unprecedented arms control votes in House and Senate. It also had someth to do with the change in Ronald Rea from 1981 to 1987. That constitutes a s cess, though Burton is of course correc isn't the freeze we were initially hoping*

I don't think the peace movement pla a direct role in bringing about the I Treaty, but it surely played a very la indirect one. I would agree that Gorbac does indeed deserve a great deal of cre for this treaty and possible future ones.

Finally, my guess is that Reagan, weapons labs and the military did need the peace movement to dream up S Wars. I would suggest that it is rather outgrowth of the ambitions of the extre right to regain nuclear supremacy over Soviet Union. The peace movement pro bly influenced Reagan to overstate the pabilities of Star Wars and talk ab making nuclear weapons "impotent obsolete." The peace movement has ye respond to Reagan with concrete, alter tive proposals. When it does generate so new ideas we will report on them in "Alternative Security" section.

Such a Deal

The 400 members of the Sonoma Cou (California) Women's/Men's Act For Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) wo like to thank *Nuclear Times* for provid us with excellent coverage of nuclear sues. For the last two years we have ta advantage of *Nuclear Times's* offer to s new members of our group a one-year s scription at a bargain rate. Now more t 300 members are receiving your magaz

Sonoma County WAND has been gre enhanced by this arrangement. *Nuc Times*:

- connects us with other activists ac the country who share our concerns;
- gives us the information we need to effective spokespersons;
- helps us attract new members (our m bership forms and our phone recrui promote *Nuclear Times*);
- allowed us to switch from publishin newsletter monthly to bimonthly, hal our printing and production expenses.

Our members are now receiving a qua

magazine we are not equipped to pro-
I urge all peace groups to take advan-
of *Nuclear Times*. Newsletters are so
-consuming to produce and distribute.
not let *Nuclear Times* help relieve
of some of this burden?

Tula Jaffe, Coordinator
Sonoma County WAND
Santa Rosa, California

e Don't Want It

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ing list. Although we support anti-nu-
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r children are young and easily fright-
d by the sensational tone of most of
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children without resorting to the scare
tics you consistently use.

Carole Walthers
Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin

ing South

pplaud Robert Schaeffer's conclusions
"Going South" [Nov./Dec. 1987] that
must see apparently separate issues as
t of a whole foreign policy and that we
st cooperate to take on all the issues
t concern all of us. But his argument is
rred by the kind of shortsighted, nar-
v-minded, ahistorical approach that
ned so many activists off to the Freeze.
For example, Schaeffer claims the disar-
ment movement "pioneered tech-
ques—town meetings, council resolu-
ns, electoral campaigns—laid much of
groundwork for work on Central
nerica, and created a spirit of opposition
the Reagan administration. . . ." He makes it appear that the disarmament movement of 1980-83 begat the anti-intervention movement of the 1984-87 period and that "the road to Central America is a one-way street."

This chronology is a fairy tale. First, all the techniques listed long predate the Freeze movement and only scratch the surface of tactics used by peace activists. There was a strong and vibrant Central America movement during the 1980-83 period; indeed, it began prior to the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution. You can trace it even further back to the 1920s and '30s if you like. Its growth in the mid-1980s is due mostly to the fruit of continuing, unglamorous, nitty-gritty organizing, events in Central America, and only tangentially to the Freeze's self-immolation. And if you cannot see how defeating the Reagan administration's interventionist plans in "America's backyard" will weaken the pro-war forces and strengthen the peace movement (not to mention its immediate effects on the people of Central America), then I fear you suffer from terminal "movement blindness," which comes from sitting too long in D.C. offices in front of computers.

Eric Fried
Santa Rosa, California

Robert Schaeffer responds: It was David McCauley, the American Friends Service Committee field director in Brattelboro, Vermont, who said that the peace movement "pioneered techniques" such as town meetings. As far as I can tell—and Eric Fried does not demonstrate otherwise—McCauley is correct.

I never said that the disarmament movement "begat" the anti-interventionist movement, only that it has contributed to it. I agree with Fried that work on Central America can strengthen the peace movement. But some activists I spoke with said they had begun to work on anti-interventionism rather than disarmament. Many people told me they worked on one or the other issue—not both—and, looking ahead, said they would not return to work on disarmament but work on Middle East or South Africa issues. It is this development, which I called a "one-way street," that concerns me. As for computer-induced "movement blindness," I use a pencil and write my articles longhand.

Alternative Cop-Out

The article on "Alternative Security" by Bruce Birchard and Rob Leavitt [Nov./Dec. 1987] is but the symptom of a gigantic cop-out in the making; the global strategy it describes is a series of subtle rationalizations that barely mask a sense of frustration with the anti-nuclear war movement.

The authors want us to replace the elimination of all nuclear weapons as a primary goal with "the possibility of dramatic reductions in world military spending, which could free human and economic resources . . . ," thus diluting in effect the nuclear war issue into the more general and more difficult one of global non-nuclear disarmament.

It is worth noting that the abolition of nuclear weapons alone would free enough resources here and abroad to remedy a lot of social ills, and that working towards "the major elements of a common security program" that do not include as a primary objective the elimination of nuclear weapons does not do anything to stop the daily production of these weapons, thus fueling the same dangers that all of the sudden seem to be "long-range."

Whereas the authors state that "the concept and principles of common security can provide us with a positive political program that could lead to the eventual abolition of nuclear weapons," it is really the other way around: the abolition of nuclear weapons can provide us with a positive political program that could lead to the eventual enactment of common security. Witness the tentative, preliminary steps of the INF Treaty.

It is difficult enough to convince the world of the dangers of a nuclear war without having our own people starting to abandon the ranks. If, as Robert Schaeffer points out in "Going South" in the same issue, the peace movement has fallen prey to the "Sesame Street culture," there is only

Continued on page 14

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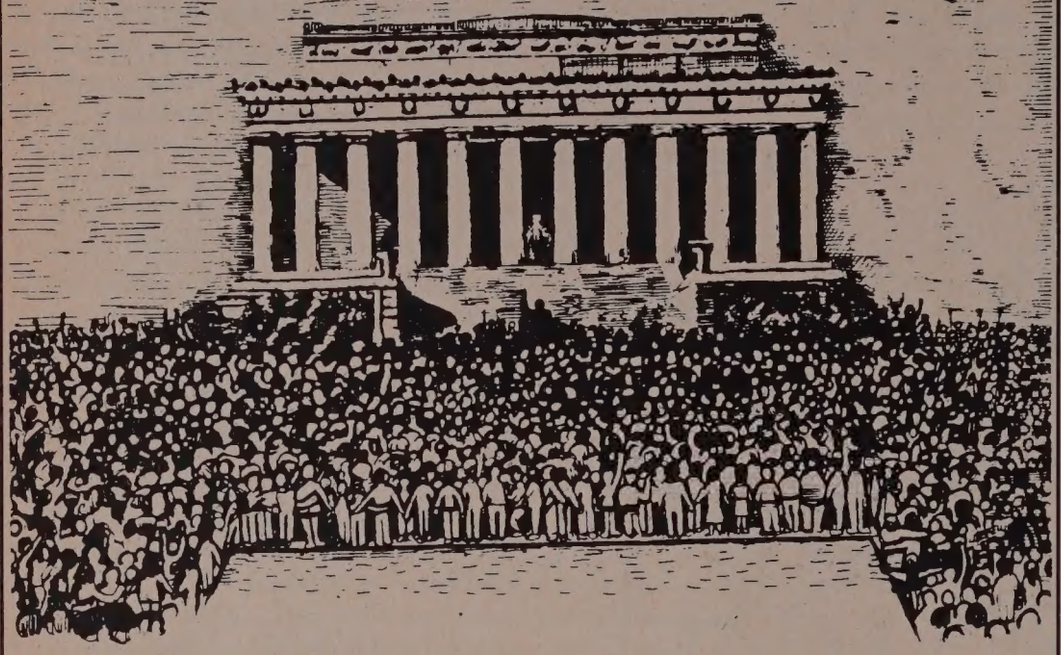

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DISPATCHES

OURT ULES FOR CTIVISTS

E PEACE MOVEMENT WON re legal victory last October en the Supreme Court of the e of Michigan ruled that a up of anti-nuclear protesters y not be held in preventive ention for refusing to prom- o refrain from future acts of l disobedience.

uch a pledge, disturbingly iniscent of the ones de- nded of Soviet dissidents, l been asked before in anti- lear trials, but never to gthen defendants' sentences ond what the law allowed. e Michigan case represented first time a corporation un- siege had persuaded a trial irt judge to imprison dem- strators—"conceivably for ," as the judge put it—not what they did, but for what y might do in the future.

The architect of this cunning al strategy was Williams In- national Corporation of lled Lake, Michigan, devel- er of the cruise missile engine l one of the state's leading ense contractors. In January 83 Williams became the tar- of weekly protests by local i-nuclear groups from Lan- g and nearby Detroit. Dem- strations remained lawful il May, when five protesters spassed on the company's acre grounds and wrote hrist Lives, Disarm!" in ashes a wall. Although no one was ested, Williams obtained an unction barring protesters m trespassing or obstructing ffic on its property.

Three months later, four ce activists who violated the injunction were hauled before James S. Thorburn, the Oakland County circuit judge who granted it, and were found guilty of *civil*—not the expected criminal—contempt. Each received 30 days in jail and a $250 fine.

Police advance on protesters at Williams International Corporation.

Thorburn's ruling that the protesters were in civil contempt was significant. Criminal contempt is invoked to punish past acts and calls for fixed sentences; civil contempt is a judicial thumbscrew used to force an offender (a father, for example, who is delinquent in child-support payments) to obey a court order. In theory it allows for open-ended punishment.

Despite the fact that they risked indefinite imprisonment, the Williams protesters continued their campaign. By the spring of 1984, Judge Thorburn was plainly tired of seeing and hearing these activists in his court. His anger boiled over on Good Friday, April 20, when five members of Covenant for Peace, a Lansing-based peace group, were brought before him on charges of trespassing and blocking traffic at the plant. Thorburn cited the activists for civil contempt, then offered to free them if they would pledge to respect Williams International's property rights. When the defendants refused, Thorburn denounced the five as "risks to society" and ordered them jailed until they cooperated and took the prescribed oath.

The protesters appealed and were released three weeks later by the State Court of Appeals pending a resolution of the case. But the precedent had been set. Subsequent arrests at Williams resulted in more Thorburn demands for pledges and more detentions. By January 17, 1986, the date of the last contempt citation, a total of 29 demonstrators had been given "life" sentences by Judge Thorburn and by another circuit judge who had followed his lead. None of the 29, however, remained in jail: 19 appealed, some were freed for health reasons, and the rest—who had elected to remain in prison—were freed on Williams International's motion as public outcry mounted.

In July 1985 the State Court of Appeals upheld Thorburn's antics, sweeping aside protesters' claims that state law and the First Amendment protected them from being punished more severely for their silence than for their actual crimes. In its recent review of the appellate court decision, the Supreme Court of Michigan disagreed, holding that Thorburn's requirement of a pledge was "improper," "impermissible" and only served to "call in question a court's authority." —*Mel Friedman*

STUDENTS SAY 'NO' TO STAR WARS

ALTHOUGH WEANED ON LUKE Skywalker and Darth Vader, the current generation of college students is not thrilled about the possibility of seeing the movie *Star Wars* become a reality.

On March 23, the fifth anniversary of President Reagan's "Star Wars" speech, students on campuses all over the country will participate in "A Day of National Campus Action to Expose Space Weapons."

Sponsored by the National Student Action Center (NSAC) and United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), the day's events will criticize the connection between academia and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), such as Pentagon funding of laboratory research on college campuses.

"We're looking to shake

DISPATCHES

BLIPS...

BLAMING THE VICTIM The civilian crew of the Navy munitions train that severed the legs of peace activist S. Brian Willson last September is suing him for intentional neglect and infliction of emotional distress. Meanwhile Willson, who is learning to walk with artificial limbs, has filed a compensation claim with the Navy to cover his current and future medical expenses.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS Did the Playboy centerfold almost cause an international incident early this year? Pentagon sources told *The Washington Post* that a Navy surveillance plane and a Soviet jet fighter nearly collided over the Sea of Japan in January. One source said the two aircraft were "playing games" and that U.S. and Soviet military planes frequently chase each other in international air space. Pilots who have flown the missions told *The Post* that the planes sometimes get close enough for the crew of one craft to see the other crew hold up photos from skin magazines. Perhaps this is a new type of citizen diplomacy.

RAMBO BOOED With all the hoopla over the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, at least some Americans are no longer turned on by Soviet bashing. Moviegoers in New York and Los Angeles have been razzing a two-minute preview of Sylvester Stallone's third *Rambo* film, in which macho Vietnam vet John Rambo stomps the Soviets in Afghanistan.

When one New York audience that had come to see *Wall Street* loudly booed the preview, a publicist for *Rambo III* was quoted by Reuters as saying, "Yuppie swine.... We know [Stallone's] audience. It's blue-collar, hard-core. They're going to get what they want. *Rambo III* will outgross the second one." We're sure he's right, but we're not talking about profits.

TEENS ON NUKES Johnny may not know how to read, and he may not know his geography, but according to two surveys taken late last year, he does know that he is worried about nuclear war. In one survey, 61 percent of the 1,077 New Orleans high school students polled named nuclear war as the issue they are most concerned about. But 75 percent also said they believe that adults don't care what young people think about world issues.

A survey of 611 high school students in northern New Jersey found that 78 percent thought that it is impossible to win a nuclear war, while 86 percent said both superpowers are equally to blame for the failure to achieve arms control. Nearly three-quarters of the students said the United States is spending too much on defense, and about half said the main goal of U.S. military policy should be to strive for disarmament. But 71 percent said there is nothing they personally could do to reduce the chance of nuclear conflict. Is that because they, like their Louisiana counterparts, think that adults aren't listening? □

things up once again," says Mary Maloney of UCAM. "The issue has, in a sense, died down. The university and the professors have become dependent on the research money: it's becoming part of the institution."

According to NSAC's Kim Paulus, each campus will come up with its own innovative actions for March 23. One idea that has circulated, she says, "is for students to attach play money to helium balloons and release them simultaneously at campuses all over the country to symbolize the waste that Star Wars represents."

Formed in 1984, NSAC tries to provide continuity in the revolving-door world of student activism, focusing primarily on Star Wars, contra aid, CIA recruitment on campus and corporate/military ties to universities. As part of its SDI work and in preparation for the March 23 actions, NSAC has published a "Space Weapons Off Campus Guide."

For UCAM, meanwhile, the March 23 event is but one of four events in their upcoming Spring Into Action program, which will also include a petition drive in support of Senate ratification of the INF Treaty, a series of educational forums on budget priorities and its fifth annual university lobbying action on Capitol Hill. To organize these events, UCAM draws on 88 campus chapters and a network of 1,300 additional public and private schools throughout the United States.

—John Feffer

For more information about the March 23 actions, contact Kim Paulus at NSAC (202) 547-2300; or Mary Maloney at UCAM (202) 543-1505.

CITY VOTES AGAINST STAR WARS

SANTA BARBARA, HOME
the West Coast White Hou
has announced its opposit
to President Reagan's Strate
Defense Initiative (SDI) by
proving the first anti-Star W
initiative in the country. In
city where local firms have
ceived $140 million in S
Wars contracts over the l
four years, 57 percent of t
electorate voted for the init
tive, called Measure N.

"To have a measure like th
the first in the nation, passed
Reagan's neighbors, is a pre
resounding blow to the Reag
policy," said Chris Brown,
SANE/FREEZE, one of the m
sure's sponsors.

After Measure N passe
High Frontier, the organizati
that claims credit for origin
ing the Star Wars concept,
nounced it will try to place
counter-measure, the "An
Ballistic Missiles Protection I
tiative," on California's N
vember 1988 ballot. T
group's chairman, retired Ar
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graha
says a resolution calling
rapid deployment of SDI w
show the country that a maj
ity supports the idea.

SANE/FREEZE, which ga
ered 1,200 signatures to
Measure N, "Security Throu
Nuclear Arms Reductions,"
the ballot, plans to place it
the primary or general electi
ballot in June or Novemb
For information, contact G
Cross, SANE/FREEZE, 3
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—Elise Holla

DISPATCHES

OLO ON HE HILL

IO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT 1983, at the height of the eze, that five years later a npaign activist would be or- ıizing hearings for the House Representatives?

When Rep. Patricia Schroe- : (D-Colo.) decided late last that the Armed Services mmittee should convene a cial panel to reassess Ameri- s role in NATO, she tapped m Solo, a longtime peace ac- ist, to run the show.

Solo, currently co-director of Institute for Peace and In- national Security (IPIS) in mbridge, Massachusetts, is stranger to Capitol Hill. She ınaged Schroeder's 1982 and 84 election campaigns as ll as her more recent "ex- ɔratory" bid for the Demo- ıtic presidential nomination. ıt becoming the chief staff ember for the panel, which hroeder chairs, was a step o the inner sanctum.

The hearings, which started bruary 2, are especially nely because of the recent ning of the INF Treaty, the deral budget and trade deficit ses, and the declining U.S. sition in the world economy. nidst calls for a conventional ns buildup and with the ited States already spending out $170 billion annually for ATO and Japanese defense— mparable to the size of the dget deficit—"it's time to as- s fully the problem of bur- n-sharing among the United ates and our allies," says Solo. Who is going to foot the bill? hat are we paying for?"

Solo's experience with the eeze campaign and at IPIS make it more likely that the panel will take a broad view of U.S. foreign and military policy. Since co-founding IPIS in late 1986, Solo has been working to provide alternatives to U.S. strategies of containment, nuclear deterrence and military intervention in the Third World.

According to Solo, the House committee panel has a mandate to address the fundamental premises of the Atlantic alliance. It will try to answer questions on U.S. interests in Europe, the conventional balance between the blocs, the perceived Soviet threat, the financing of the alliance, and whether NATO's conventional forces can be redeployed in a more defensive posture.

Although the panel primarily deals with NATO, Solo says it will not confine itself to Europe or military policy. "For example, I hope the panel will consider ways to encourage Japan to provide a larger share of development assistance to the Third World than it does now," she says. "A reassessment of U.S. security policy cannot confine itself to purely military matters."

In addition to splitting her time between IPIS, the House Armed Services Committee and the Boston-Washington shuttle, Solo has just published *From Protest to Policy*, a book on the freeze movement. In it she notes that the peace movement, by merely opposing individual weapons systems, too often reacted to the Pentagon's agenda. Instead, she argues, peace activists must strive to set the agenda for public debate on defense and foreign policy issues. Fortunately for Solo—and for the peace movement—she is now in a position to do just that. *—Bruce Auster*

Pam Solo: From the Freeze to the House Armed Services Committee.

FUNDING OUT OF MOSCOW

BASING AN INDEPENDENT, international private foundation in Moscow is not an easy task. In fact, it's never been done before.

Until, that is, the Soviet Council of Ministers recently took the unprecedented step of ensuring legal independence for the newly formed International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity.

The foundation's guidelines call for "new cooperative efforts for harnessing humankind's ingenuity, knowledge, skills and resources across all national and ideological boundaries." It will fund projects on the environment, international security, and socio-economic development.

Although based in Moscow, the foundation has a Swedish director and offices in Washington and Stockholm. A host of international personalities sit on its board, including Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov; Susan Eisenhower, president of the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute; David McTaggart, chairman of Greenpeace International; Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a leading Soviet economist; Frederick Mayor, director of UNESCO; and American industrialist Armand Hammer.

The fledgling organization is in the process of securing a financial base, and Hammer has pledged $1 million to it. But don't pull out your grant-application files just yet: the foundation is not yet accepting unsolicited grant requests.

—John Feffer

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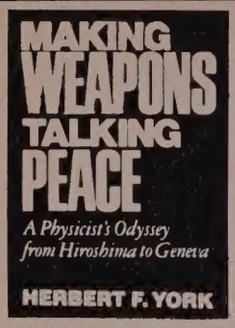
Basic Issues



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ELECTIONS/BOB GULDIN

AFTER REAGAN

SEVERAL PROJECTS ARE PREPARING BRIEFING BOOKS FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT

Jane Wales of Security Options: Certain changes could be made to reduce the risk of nuclear w

Anticipating Ronald Reagan's 1980 ascent to the presidency, the conservative Heritage Foundation prepared a 1,100-page document, *Mandate for Leadership*, that provided detailed policy prescriptions for the president-elect's "Kitchen Cabinet" transition team and the new administration. Mindful of the Heritage Foundation's successful promotion of its conservative agenda during the first years of the Reagan administration, three groups—Security Options, Project '89, and Transition '89—are developing a set of policy recommendations on arms control measures for the next administration. They each plan to deliver a set of briefing-book proposals to the president-elect's transition team after the November election.

Security Options. Security Options Director Jane Wales, former executive director of Physicians for Social Responsibility and a member of President Carter's transition team and administration, says her project will try to identify concrete measures the next administration, Republican or Democratic, could take to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

Security Options grew out of the Project On No First Use, which was created in 1983 by the so-called "Gang of Four"—McGeorge Bundy, George Kennan, Robert McNamara and Gerard Smith—to p mote discussion of U.S. nuclear weap policy. They urged in a now-famous *F eign Affairs* article that the Reagan adm istration consider adopting a no-first- policy similar to that of the Soviets.

To prepare recommendations for next administration, Wales has been c vassing the arms control community to termine whether experts can agree on r reduction measures. After some interviews, Wales says she has been "s prised to find that arms control exp agree on many key issues," including Wars. "We thought Star Wars would b contentious issue," she says. "But most perts] agree that the United States and Soviet Union should agree to limit resea along the lines of the original interpretat of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, that the United States should then cond a vigorous research program."

The experts' consensus on Star Wars other topics encourages Wales to beli that "certain changes could be made to duce the risk of nuclear war." She says t one proposal, to remove nuclear weap from U.S. Navy surface ships, "lacks c matic [popular] appeal, but is supported experts in both political parties and Navy personnel. We have to demonstr to the incoming president that it is the ri

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ng to do and that there is broad expert support for the proposal."

Wales also thinks that the next president should "come clean with the American public" and admit that the goal of a perfect listic-missile defense system or of a rld without any nuclear weapons is unlistic.

Although the project's specific policy ommendations are not yet in final form, les plans to prepare a detailed memodum for the Democratic and Republi- presidential nominees, a briefing book the president-elect, and perhaps a book ed on Security Options' policy recommndations.

Project '89. Organized by the Council for Livable World's (CLW) non-political ication project and run by CLW Legisla- Director John Isaacs and Associate Di- tor Beth Cohen DeGrasse, Project '89 ll try to identify arms control proposals t can be implemented by a new adminis- tion in its first few months. DeGrasse s the project's proposals must be comehensive, detailed and politically feasible. they are not, even an administration mmitted to arms control may accomsh little in this area. "Everyone will be tting forward their proposals," she says, ut we will try to explain how to implent new measures and how to stay out of uble along the way."

To develop its recommendations, oject '89 hired *Atlantic* Senior Editor k Beatty to survey expert opinion on ssible arms control proposals. So far, in dition to speaking to well-known arms ntrol advocates such as Robert McNaara and Paul Warnke, Beatty has interewed influential Republicans such as Sen. chard Lugar (R-Ind.), former National curity Adviser Brent Scowcroft, and forer Reagan campaign manager John Sears.

The two project organizers will also mmission a large-scale public opinion ll to determine the support for various olicy recommendations. In addition, aacs and DeGrasse have set up three task rces to consider policy recommendations the future of Star Wars, political pitfalls at should be avoided, and personnel that ight be selected to staff arms control poions in the new administration. Task rce recommendations will appear in oject '89's transition-team briefing book.

Although DeGrasse is not sure what specific proposals will be forwarded to the esident-elect, she says one goal is clear: A president tends to identify two or three eas as the focus for his administration. /e want arms control to be one of those."

Beatty says that it is extremely difficult r a Democratic president to make progress on arms control. "It's not at all clear that Ronald Reagan has made arms control a safe subject for Democrats," he says. "The raw political power of the Democratic Party won't do it. It takes a special credibility."

DeGrasse, like Wales, hopes the project's work will influence a moderate Republican as well as a Democratic administration. "But if Jack Kemp or Pat Robertson becomes the nominee," she says, "we'll go public to oppose their ideas on arms control."

Transition '89. Another organization that has been bitten by transition-report fever is the Democracy Project, a public policy institute headed by Mark Green. Green, a lobbyist for Ralph Nader's Public Citizen advocacy group for 10 years, was the Democratic nominee for U.S. senator from New York in 1986.

Green's effort, called Transition '89, will attempt to cover the same ground that *Mandate for Leadership* did in 1980. Green says he is recruiting authors "with a knowledge of [federal agencies] and a progressive vision" to write position papers on 30 different federal agencies. Defense Budget Project Director Gordon Adams, for example, has agreed to work on the Defense Department report.

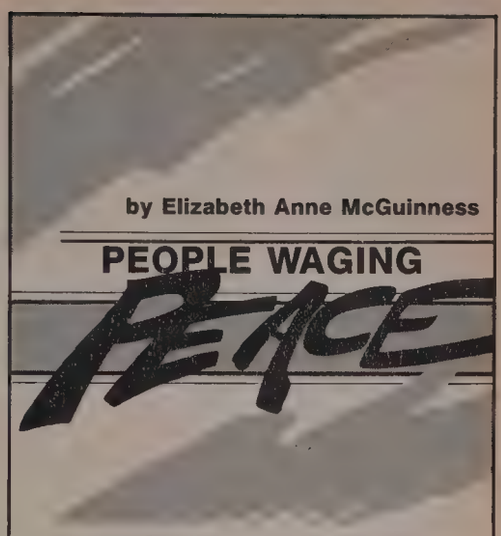
Other contributors on arms control and the military are expected to join shortly. Transition '89 then plans to produce *Blueprints for America*, a document that will be made available to the president-elect and the next Congress, and publish a book of its best ideas on government for the general public.

Unlike Security Options and Project '89, Transition '89 is explicitly designed for a Democratic administration. "All seven Democratic candidates have endorsed our project," Green says, "so I'm fairly certain the next Democratic president-elect will be eager to review our recommendations."

And if there is a Republican victory? "One assumes that a President Bush would read it less avidly than a President Dukakis," Green admits with a touch of sarcasm.

Although Security Options, Project '89 and Transition '89 have somewhat different goals and methods, they share the view that the advent of a new administration, especially when there is a change in party, provides an opportunity for political activists. Toward that end they are preparing pragmatic guides that they hope will influence the course of arms control for the next four years and beyond. □

Bob Guldin is associate editor of Arms Control Today, *a publication of the Arms Control Association in Washington, D.C.*



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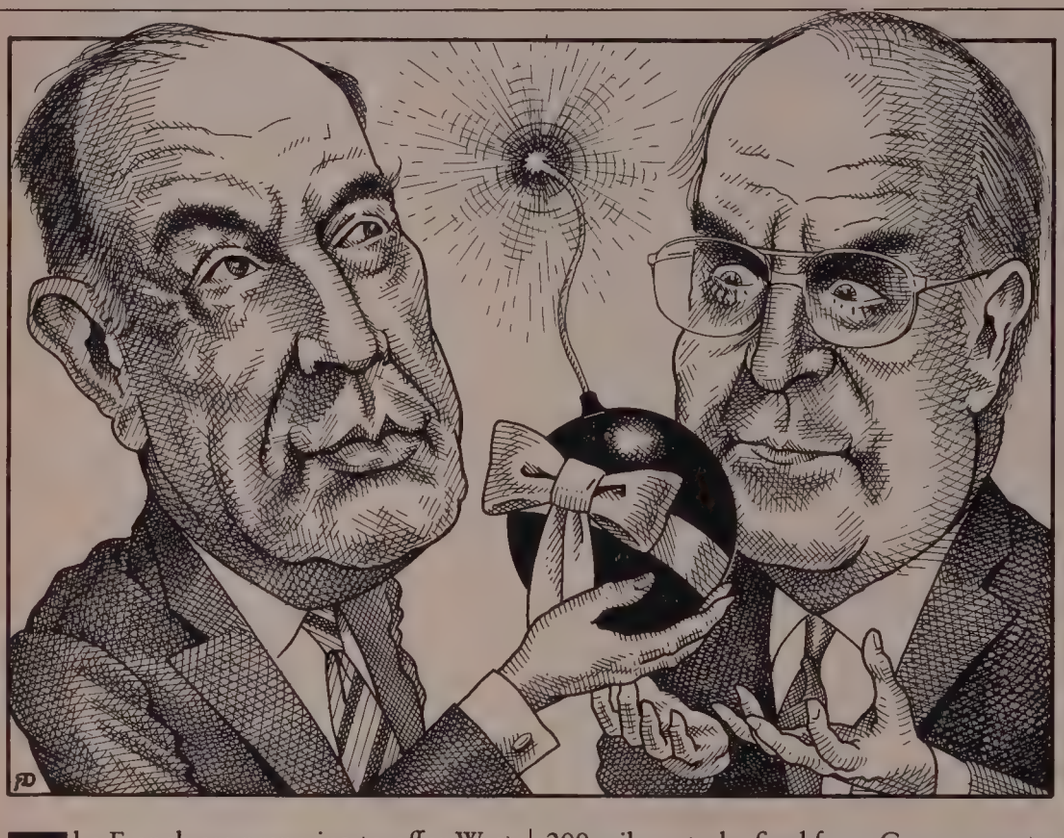
FRANCE IS OFFERING NEUTRON BOMBS TO WEST GERMANY TO CEMENT AN ALLIANCE



The French are preparing to offer West Germany a token of friendship: the neutron bomb. This gift would come equipped with a new missile dubbed "Hades," which French leaders hope will help anchor West Germany to Europe.

This idea may seem odd to anyone familiar with European geography. But what the French specifically mean by "anchor" is to tie West Germany to France and to French nuclear weapons to keep Bonn from striking a nuclear disarmament deal with the Soviet bloc.

Despite the country's anti-nuclear movement, the French hope the Federal Republic of Germany might welcome French neutron bombs. They recall how U.S. President Jimmy Carter infuriated West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt a decade ago by deciding not to deploy the neutron bomb after pressuring the Germans to request it publicly. So the French hope they can pick up where the Americans left off.

Aware of the German public's aversion to mass destruction weapons whose range destines them to land on German soil, French officials claim the neutron bomb is "not a mass destruction weapon." Moreover, they argue the Hades missile, to be ready in 1992, has a range long enough—200 miles—to be fired from Germany onto non-German soil.

However, when a half-dozen French defense specialists, including two former defense ministers, recently explained the charms of the neutron Hades to the daily *Tageszeitung* last fall, the German reaction was swift and scathing. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's main defense adviser Horst Teltschik immediately dismissed the idea of stationing French neutron bombs in West Germany as "utter stupidity."

French policymakers dismiss such public disclaimers as mere catering to a German public opinion overly influenced by "pacifism." After the French presidential elections this spring, neither French nor German leaders will have to face the voters for a while. French leaders hope to use this period to brave public opinion and take a "spectacular" and decisive step toward Franco-German military integration.

Kohl's much-publicized reluctance to part with the Pershing IA missile suggests a possible scenario. The Pershing IAs have been under German control, while the United States kept control of its nuclear warheads. After months of insisting that the Pershing IAs were German and could not be negotiated away by the superpo ers, Kohl gave in on August 26, 1987 a promised to give up the missiles to clear t way for the Soviet-U.S. INF (intermedia range nuclear forces) agreement. This v untary arrangement, however, does r prevent the West Germans from acquir more missiles.

Thus the French could offer to repla the Pershing IAs by providing t *Bundeswehr* [German army] with Ha missiles while keeping their neutron bo warheads under French or "double k Franco-German control.

Intermediate Echelon. Defense Minis Andre Giraud argues that France must t the lead in building an "intermediate ec lon" of European deterrence to replace Pershing II and cruise missiles. This wo be between the first echelon of Europ security—the American strategic nucl deterrent—and the third echelon, wh consists of France's own nuclear forces. *Monde* has reported that a major sec debate is raging among the Germans, French and the British on what weapon any, could eventually serve as an interm ate echelon.

President François Mitterrand repe edly views the Hades missile as a mist and has indicated that he would welcom "third zero option" to get rid of it. insists that the French nuclear forces c stitute a strategic whole, which must t main under presidential control. He thi that "tactical" nuclear weapons have role in French strategic plans.

However, Mitterand's rejection of ta cal nuclear weapons is ambiguous: w briefed correspondents for *Le Monde* vealed in October 1987 that Mitterr views the neutron bomb as a "conventic weapon," not a tactical nuclear weap This view enables him to support the n tron bomb project while opposing tact nuclear weapons.

Although French leaders all want to p duce the neutron bomb, they do not want to put it on the Hades missile. Cri of the Hades program have argued that too expensive and less appropriate for n tron warhead delivery than air-to-surf missiles carried by French Mirage bomb A decision to use Mirage bombers to ca

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neutron warhead would aid Mirage-
ber-builder Dassault-Breguet, which is
ne verge of ruin after two years without
gn orders.

ne French may also hope to interest the
nans in the neutron bomb warheads
new missile to be built by the Ger-
s themselves, perhaps with French co-
ation. The Bavarian-based aerospace
t, Messerschmitt-Blkow-Blohm
B), and French Aerospatiale had al-
y begun work on joint missile develop-
t before the Western European Union
U)—Britain, the Benelux states, Italy,
t Germany and France—formally
d its ban on German manufacture of
-range missiles in 1984.

EU is France's preferred forum for de-
e cooperation with Germany. Histori-
, the WEU has been a French instru-
it to control post-war German
mament. Following a suggestion by
ch Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, the
U on October 27, 1987 adopted a
tform on European Security Interests,"
ch stresses that there is "no alternative"
uclear deterrence.

EU member states pledge to "continue
ssume our nuclear responsibilities," ei-
by cooperating with the United States,
y maintaining an independent deter-
, as in the case of France and Britain.
s France has obtained a commitment
n Bonn to stick with nuclear weapons.
w binding this will be is unclear.

he clearest motive for Franco-German
s cooperation is economic and indus-
l. Cooperation is needed to meet rising
ts. But this cooperation has continually
d serious strategic obstacles tied to in-
pable facts of geography. Assuming an
sion from the East, Germany is irre-
diably on the front line. France is, on the
trary, in a position to sit back and see
w things go. Since De Gaulle, the French
tegy has been to leave its reaction in
bt. If things go badly in Germany, and
iet troops advance toward France, the
nch would warn the Soviets that an at-
k on France would result in nuclear re-
als against Soviet cities.

s a modification of that strategy, the
nch gradually added the idea of using
tical or battlefield nuclear weapons to
"warning shots" at an enemy crossing
man territory. This prospect under-
ndably feeds German resentment against
nch nuclear weapons. Belatedly awak-
ng to this resentment, Mitterrand sug-
ted on a state visit to the Federal Repub-
last October that the warning shots
uld be fired somewhere else.

rench doctrinal subtleties cannot easily
around the widespread German convic-
tion that there simply is no way to defend West Germany with nuclear weapons.

Political Solutions. This military conclusion logically shifts the basic problem to the political level. The simple term for the political answer is "common security"—the idea that in the nuclear age, individual national security is impossible and the only way to obtain security is to remove collectively the danger of nuclear war.

What makes this general observation particularly persuasive in present-day Europe is the absence of any serious threat of war. The "Soviet threat" to post-war Western Europe has been a code for two other things: fear of domestic communism and the "German problem." The decline of militant communist parties in Western Europe has removed the first fear.

The German problem is an obsession of the French state. For more than 300 years, the central tenet of French foreign policy has been to keep Germany divided into different—preferably enemy—states.

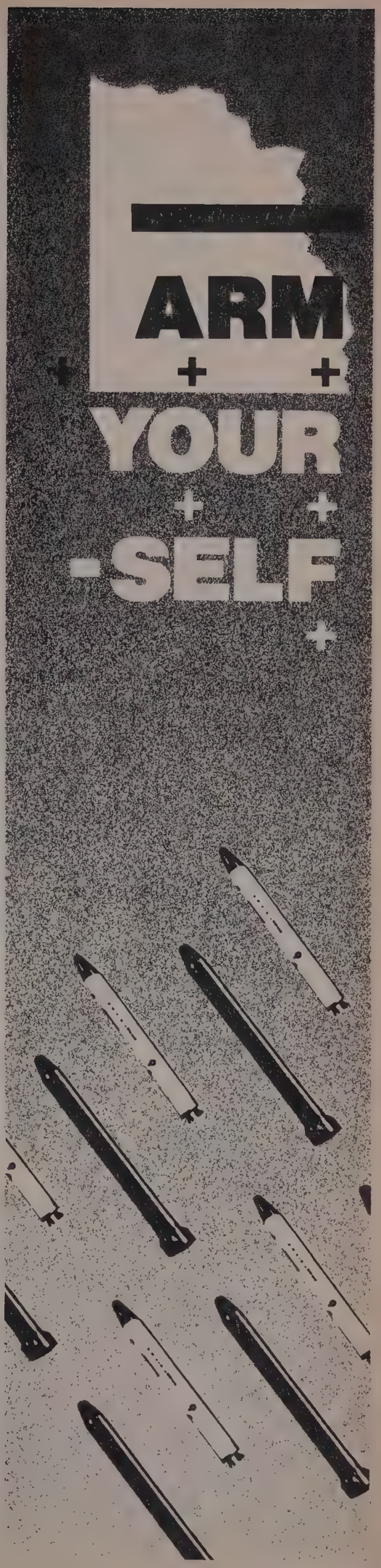
The post-war division of Germany has been preserved by dividing Germany into two states on the front lines of two opposing military blocs. The dilemma of how to defend Western Europe from Soviet invasion is a false problem that conceals the political problem of keeping Germany divided and controlled.

The often expressed French fear of seeing West Germany lured into "Finlandization" by Soviet wiles is largely a code for fear of German reunification. The French need to use a code stems from the difficulty of openly expressing hostility to German national unity while advocating it as part of the campaign to solidify the Franco-German partnership.

East German Communist leader Erich Honecker's official welcome in Bonn last August signaled a historic new development that is transforming the two Germanies from the front lines of the two blocs into the double linchpin of an all-European security system. Bonn has in effect acknowledged the existence of two separate states. German reunification is off the agenda. But "Germany," in its two-state form, is moving from the frontier of two opposing worlds back to its key role in the center of Europe.

With such offerings as the neutron bomb, France hopes to ensure that West Germany's economic and industrial ties to the West in general and to France in particular will continue to take precedence over development of relations and trade with the East. □

Diana Johnstone is the European editor for In These Times.



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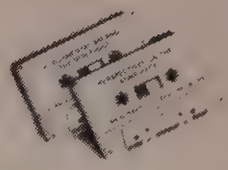

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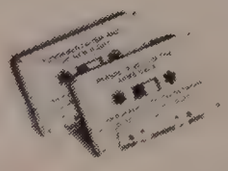

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Exposing the Forces behind the Arms Race

LETTERS/Continued from page 5

one answer: turn off the TV set and grow up! There are difficult times ahead of us; we cannot afford to weaken our efforts.

Robert Aronstein
Falls Church, Virginia

Bruce Birchard and Rob Leavitt respond: We strongly disagree with Robert Aronstein's assertion that broadening the anti-nuclear agenda to focus on common security will "weaken our efforts." The key problem our movement faces is not "to convince the world at large of the dangers of nuclear war." By focusing on such dangers, Aronstein implies that once enough people see the light, somehow the weapons will fade away. But most people already see that light. The problem instead is to convince publics and governments that there is a safe and feasible alternative to the Faustian bargain of conventional as well as nuclear war.

As long as the United States and the Soviet Union deploy and appear prepared to use massive conventional forces (in Europe, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, etc.), and as long as both seek to control large areas of the world, neither will agree to abolish their nuclear weapons. Reductions, perhaps even 50 percent, seem possible, that will neither stop the danger progress in counterforce technology necessarily reduce the risks of nuclear

The abolition of nuclear weapons only be possible in the context of m more open and cooperative relations tween East and West—and between N and South. This, in turn, requires m reductions in conventional as well as clear forces and an end to superpowe tervention in Europe and the Third W

Contrary to Aronstein's claims, nu cuts will not save much money. Sinc percent of U.S. military spending (90 cent worldwide) is on conventional fo significant redirection of human an nancial resources to productive purp will require substantial cuts in non-nu forces. We do not focus primarily spending cuts, but working for reduct in conventional and nuclear forces an common security goals will bring dream of nuclear disarmament clos reality. It will also make the anti-nu movement truly a peace movement.

The 1988 Elections

The 1988 presidential election has s striking parallels with the 1960 ele

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ohn F. Kennedy. Then, as now, an ex-
ıely popular elderly president was com-
ing his second term, ailing physically
politically. Dwight Eisenhower began
ight years in office by unleashing Secre-
of State John Foster Dulles to threaten
Soviets with "massive nuclear retalia-
," yet in the closing years of his reign
nhower was negotiating with Soviet
er Nikita Khrushchev for a nuclear test
. President Reagan allowed Alexander
g, his first secretary of state, to threaten
ited" nuclear war and demonstration
lear explosions to show U.S. resolve.
w Reagan has modified his rhetoric and
egotiating nuclear weapons reductions
ı Mikhail Gorbachev, the second com-
of Nikita Khrushchev.

he Soviets may wind up helping the Re-
licans on the peace issue by concluding
treaty eliminating intermediate-range
lear (INF) missiles and perhaps agreeing
deep cuts in their strategic nuclear of-
ive arsenals—in time for the election.
he Soviets seem to have asked them-
es if they would get a better deal from
ks under pressure from doves or from
es under pressure from hawks. They
arently decided to go with the Reagan
inistration's hawks under pressure
n doves rather than gamble on some
ıre dovish president. Gorbachev seems
ealize that getting an arms treaty with a
ıservative Republican administration
ıld open the way to additional deals
h the next administration, be it Republi-
or Democratic.

When Reagan and Gorbachev have their
ıty signing celebration, the political im-
tance of arms control will match its im-
tance for human survival, probably for
first time. If President Eisenhower had
n able to complete the negotiations
h the Soviets for a nuclear test ban
ıty, Richard Nixon would probably
e been elected in 1960.

n 1960, John F. Kennedy read public
nion as hawkish and offered to close the
itious "missile gap." Public opinion has
anged. The voters are intensely con-
ned about nuclear war and the federal
icit. The candidate of either party who
es the opportunity to focus on ending
nuclear arms race will capture the
nds and hearts of the voters.

Jerome Grossman
President
Council For a Livable World
Boston, Massachusetts

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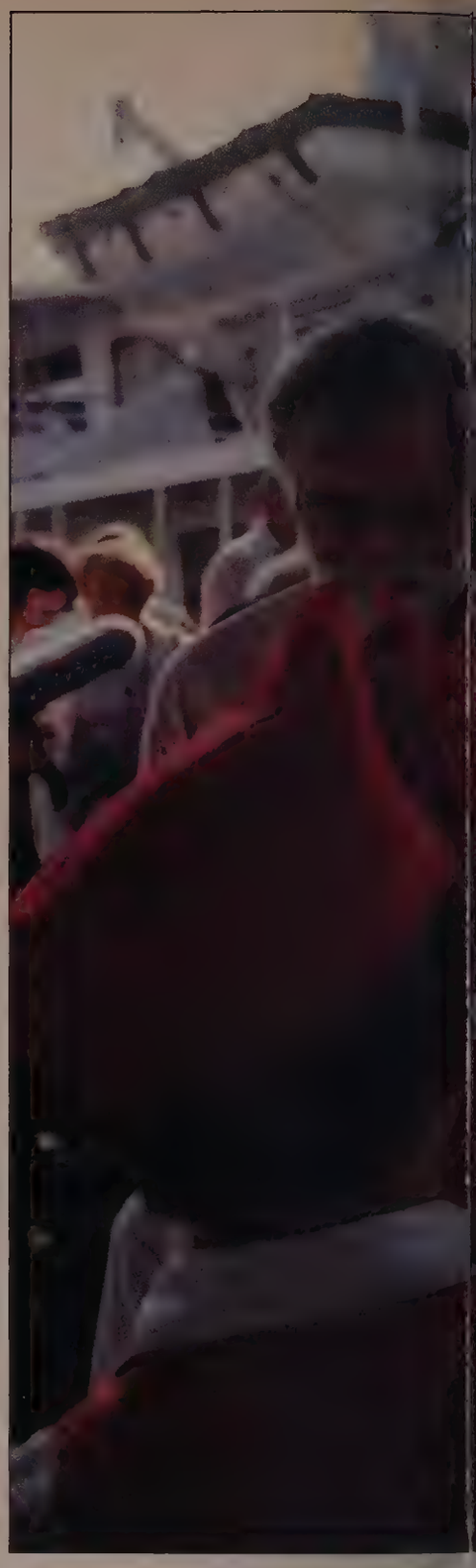

BY MIRANDA SPENCER

During a cruise down the Volga River, when most of his shipmates on the *M.S. Maxim Gorky* had gone ashore to see a circus, Edward Rothberg and a few acquaintances stayed behind. A contingent of Soviet visitors was expected. Sure enough, they came aboard, and the group found themselves sitting in a circle, chatting about families and jobs. "Suddenly," Rothberg, a Staten Island, New York, peace activist, recalls, "the leader took out a guitar and started playing Russian folk songs. Before you know it, he was playing 'Oh Susannah.' Then, before you know it, he was playing 'We Shall Overcome.' There I was, 5,000 miles away from home, in an 'enemy' country, singing. I had tears in my eyes."

Club Med it's not. And yet the Soviet Union is "the hottest travel destination this year," according to one travel agent. A record 100,000 Americans visited last year. And with detente making encounters like Rothberg's easier, peace activists now have an unprecedented opportunity to meet face to face with Soviets from all walks of life.

"Tourism is good for diplomacy," says Michael Shuman, co-author of *Citizen Diplomats*. For one thing, "Americans are walking banned books," by which he means that our presence in the Soviet Union spreads information and new ideas, gives us a chance to "lobby" Soviet officials for change, and builds relationships that help dispel Cold War misconceptions.

Traveling alone to the Soviet Union makes for a less structured experience, but it also tends to cut you off from important people, places and things—you can't just "drop by" a workers' co-op, for example. Traveling with a group can be more productive and is *much* cheaper. Fortunately, with the growth of sister city and cultural and exchange programs, scores of both pre-packaged and custom-made grassroots diplomacy vacation tours have sprouted up to facilitate collective travel.

Tour Options

Although their itineraries and philosophies vary widely, peace groups, nonprofit exchange organizations and commercial travel agents can all provide the aspiring citizen ambassador with a well-organized, meaningful Soviet sojourn. Working closely with the Soviet state-run Intourist, friendship societies, peace groups and private contacts, they will take care of the considerable red tape involved in booking transportation, obtaining the mandatory visa and so on. Prices are still expensive: from $1,500 to more than $3,000 per person for two weeks to two months, not counting spending money. (Length of stay seems to have less bearing on cost than season.) However, the tab is usually all-inclusive, covering airfare, meals, accommodations (often first class—by Soviet standards), theater tickets, the works. Services include highly experienced leaders, some of whom have traveled in the Soviet Union more than a dozen times; Russian-speaking American and/or English-speaking Soviet guides; extensive networks of personal contacts; pre-trip orientation and/or free handbooks to mitigate culture shock and help you get around.

Most groups (except on cruises) are small. Limited size helps ensure personalized attention, but the resulting high demand for few spaces and the need to book well ahead of time (four or more weeks) can keep you from getting the tour you want, for the dates you want it. Your chances of getting a trip at the last minute are not bad, however, since cancellations do happen. And if you are, say, a female ichthyologist, there may be a tour of

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PHOTOS BY © DAVID PETERSON 1987

Young Pioneers greet American visitors at the harbor in Volgograd.

e ichthyologists just waiting for you.
oviet tour operators of every stripe tend
rive for heterogeneous groups to make
trip more interesting for everyone.
ıy tours, however, have been devel-
d to accommodate a special vocational
ne. Such tours may or may not restrict
icipation to, say, nurses or golfers, and
t of the organizations mentioned here
tailor a tour to your own group's needs
about one year's advance notice.
ltimately, the tour you select depends
our own personal goals and needs. If
intend to meet teachers and students in
et schools, be prepared to travel during
school year; if you want to jam with Soviet musicians, make sure the plane trip you want can accommodate your drum set.

But most important to the success of your trip is probably your own attitude. "Going to the Soviet Union is not a veg-out vacation," stresses Lucien Weisbrod of Pioneer Travel. "It's active, focused on experience rather than self-indulgence."

"Be flexible and patient," says Helen Simonson of General Tours. "Intourist may change the itinerary on you." Be willing to forsake creature comforts: even fine hotels may lack hot water—indefinitely.

As preparation, it's smart to do some studying ahead of time to familiarize yourself with the customs and laws of the land—especially since, under *perestroika*, they're changing all the time. For example, the once-banned *Fodor's U.S.S.R.* guide is now allowed over the border, but in some places, such as gas stations, taking photographs is forbidden. Changing money on the highly active black market is still a crime—not to mention a rip-off. Normal amenities such as telephone books and bathtub stoppers are virtually non-existent. Annoyances of this kind tax even the most seasoned traveler and can put a damper on your diplomatic mission. Two sources are

An American and a Soviet place a wreath at a war memorial in Volgograd.

your best bets for learning about such Soviet realities: *Information Moscow*, a comprehensive guidebook ($20, from U.S. Information Moscow, 3220 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94115, which also sells clear, full-color maps); and talking to people who have been to the Soviet Union.

Maximizing Contact

All the sample tours discussed below offer ample opportunities to meet people. But peace group-sponsored and hiking/camping tours will throw you in with the average citizen more readily than what Lou Smith, representative of Global Concepts travel agency, calls "cookie-cutter tours where you move from hotel to museum to monument." "It's easy to write 'people-to-people' in a brochure," he cautions.

Making friends and absorbing daily Soviet life is, in the end, up to you. There are several, some of them eccentric, ways to accomplish this. Helen Simonson recalls one man who would mount a local bus and ask loudly, "DO YOU SPEAK ENGLISH?" Someone would usually come over to talk.

A real or feigned look of confusion can prove useful as well. "The Soviets are social and family-oriented people," explains Lou Smith. "They consider it their bound duty to rescue you." Indeed, the Soviets are said to be remarkably warm, outgoing and generous. Unlike Parisiens, Soviets love Americans and are eager to meet them, if only to practice their English. They'll often offer personalized, impromptu tours of their favorite haunts, even their homes, and are always looking to trade souvenirs, particularly ballpoint pens, postcards and Michael Jackson tapes. They are curious to find out, as one traveler puts it, whether "half the people [in the United States] are homeless and the other half has AIDS."

Tours

What follows is a generous, but by no means complete, sampler of tours to the Soviet Union that have a diplomatic theme or that provide the chance to meet with the Soviet people.

■ **The Citizen Exchange Council** (CEC) offers 25 years of experience, the benefit of being the largest independent citizen diplomacy group of its kind, and provides scholarships. It also has a sterling reputation with the U.S. Information Agency, the Soviet Friendship Society, and Billy Joel, whose Soviet concert tour it coordinated.

All CEC tour guides are Russian-speaking Americans who can act as translators. According to CEC's Robert Satterfield, it is already too late to book a custom tour, but there are still individual openings in about a dozen trips leaving between May and October, priced from $1,950 to $3,445. Accommodations are first class. Just two of interest: Historic Russian Capitals (Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, plus Helsinki) "traces the development of the Russian state from Kievan Rus to present day Soviet Union." It runs October 2 to 14 and costs $1,950. Three Russian Cities contrasts ancient Russia (Novgorod and Leningrad) with modern (Moscow): June 15 to 25, $2,450. *Contact:* Citizen Exchange Council, 18 East 41st St., New York, NY 10017, (212) 889-7960.

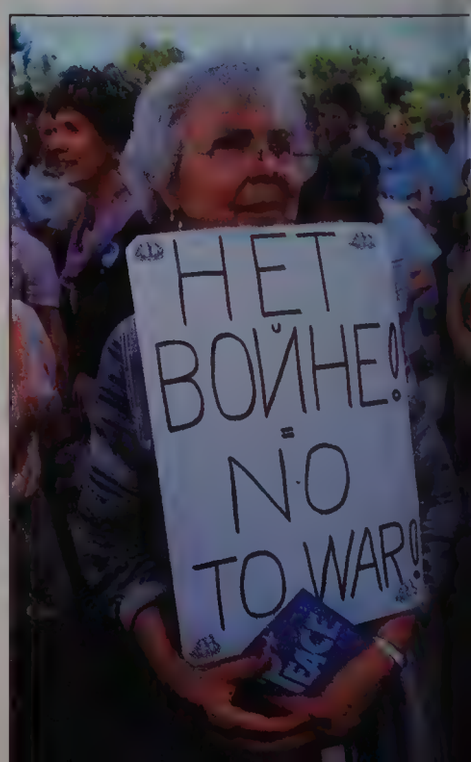
■ **Peace Odysseys**, led by long-time peace activists Richard and Jean Rodes, organizes annual pilgrimages to the Soviet Union. Tour itineraries vary according to the ir ests of the participants, who are ha picked to ensure a diversity of backgrou and according to the Rodes' judgmen "can contribute the most." You need be a peace activist to join, but you wil asked to complete a form about your ues and goals for the trip.

The group is oriented toward the forming arts and families. Musical dance performances by and for the nat are often on the agenda, as are prearran home visits. Indeed, this is a "warm fuzzy" type of tour where you'll lear sing "May There Always Be Sunshine" Soviet day-care center or deliver perso letters on peaceful coexistence to gov ment officials.

The next odyssey, which includes sin in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the So Union, runs July 7 to 25 (and is alre overbooked). *Contact:* Peace Odyss 5250 Patriot Lane, Columbia, MD 21((301) 730-8296 or 997-1048.

■ Similar in character and tone are t orchestrated by the grassroots diplon and peace group **U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges Peace**, which for five years has special in arranging dialogues between wome peace and church groups. This year's t week tours of historical sites include th major cities: Moscow, Tallinn, and K from June 19; Moscow, Odessa and K from July 3; Leningrad and Riga, from 31; all, $2,290. Tallinn and Leningrad, parting October 9, is $2,150 (fall is the season). *Contact:* Bridges for Peace, 710, Norwich, CT 05055, (802) 649-10

■ **Global Concepts**, a full-service age that calls itself a "citizen diplomacy ser center," arranges people-to-people to around the world and specializes in the viet Union. The organization works v group leaders to plan trip agenda, rout



An American at a peace rally in Rostov.

motion and contacts, and also sponsors aratory tours just for leaders. It is the p responsible for bringing Alcoholics nymous to the Soviet Union.

obal Concepts' tours, Smith stresses, or travelers, not tourists. "We have members] out in Soviet homes the night," he says. Spontaneous contacts going it alone are encouraged. "Lead- will kick [you] in the behind to do thing. I tell [tour members] to either ost or look lost."

nong others, Global Concepts offers different tours, all running from Au- 21 to September 4. Each begins in cow and ends in Leningrad, with ces of Sochi/Tallinn, Kiev/Riga or si/Volgograd for in-between. Cost is 25. *Contact:* Global Concepts, 2860 ut Hill Lane, Dallas, TX 75229, (800) 4552 or (214) 352-8416.

oneer Travel has for 21 years focused ugged, bare-bones camping trips in the et Union. A company flyer calls its an- six- and nine-week adventures "maxi- y unrestricted." Participants drive the obus in which they travel, and contacts ciply as you buy food, use public trans- ation and explore.

oneer's tours are restricted to 24 adults m the operators believe to have suffi- t "stamina and self-motivation." They require you to have one year of Rus- language study under your belt. Par- ants camp in tents in cities as well as in l villages, and a few nights are spent at hy hotels in obscure towns. Toilets, hens, and showers are available—and neer supplies the toilet paper, tents and pment (bring your own sleeping bag). ders provide a handbook for getting und, your personal expenses per diem a wealth of advice. Dene Leitsch, a sian major who "pioneered" last year, , "They [aren't] all over you, yet they're e when you need them."

eparting June 26, both tours leave from ton. The nine-weeker moves north to h, from Finland to Leningrad to the casus and out through Eastern Europe; six-week tour goes from Poland to the aine through Byelorussia, Moscow, gorod and Leningrad. Both feature rt cruises on one of two ships—one sant, the other nearly decadent—pro- ng a break from roughing it. The first costs $2,990, the latter $2,490. *Con-* Pioneer Travel, 203 Allston St., Cam- ge, MA 02139, (617) 547-1127.

thletes United for Peace (AUFP), which motes international friendship through rts, sponsors an ongoing series of "dele- ons" to the Soviet Union, where ath- s at all levels of prowess can engage in

Soviet women wearing traditional dress wait to greet Americans in Kazan.

their favorite form of recreation. Accommodations vary from roadside inns and hotels to tents. Participants must be members of AUFP, which requires a $20 fee; reservations are first-come, first-served, but applicants are screened to determine whether "you're in the spirit of promoting understanding between peoples of both countries," according to AUFP Director Guy Benjamin. A former pro football quarterback with the San Francisco 49ers, Benjamin is a savvy tour leader. According to one runner, "Guy knew how to find a pizza place in downtown Leningrad."

Upcoming trips include the Moscow International Peace Marathon, a run over the 1980 Olympic marathon route, which offers meetings with Soviet athletes and coaches, then a stay in Sochi, the Soviet answer to Acapulco and Lourdes. A stop in Leningrad is included. The trip runs August 9 to 22, with room for two groups of 15 people each. It departs from New York and costs $1,950.

A "Bike for Peace" is also scheduled for Summer 1988, with 100 spots available. (Bring your own bike.) The cost is approximately $2,000. A Class III/IV kayaking trip departs in late July. Participants will join Soviet kayakers for a run down Siberia's Katun River, camping in the mountains of Tashkent. There are seven to 10 places, and the cost is $2,500. *Contact:* Athletes United for Peace, 450 Harrison #310, San Francisco, CA 94105, (415) 543-6671.

■ Speaking of white water, **Project RAFT** (Russians and Americans for Teamwork) runs a rafting program as its contribution to citizen diplomacy. Americans and Soviets find themselves literally in the same boat, surmounting common obstacles (dangerous rapids) through teamwork—even contriving a hybrid vocabulary of rafting commands from Russian and English sounds. The trips are a wilderness-lover's paradise of peaks, glaciers and alpine meadows. Several days of training are provided, but you must be fit and know how to swim.

Trips offered in 1988 include a Class V (expert) raft trip down the Bashkaus River, from July 2 to 22, at $3,000; and two other, more moderate jousts with the Katun River, one for the general public and one for college students. They run three weeks, depart July 20 and August 10, respectively, and cost $3,500. *Contact:* RAFT, 3315 Sacramento St. #526, San Francisco, CA 94118, (415) 935-4528.

■ Soviet travel by vessel doesn't end there. **Promoting Enduring Peace**, which coordinates international peace seminars worldwide and developed the now-famous Mississippi steamboat peace cruise (offered again this year), is co-sponsoring a cruise on the Ukraine's Dnieper River this summer. An equal number of Americans and Soviets (150 each, including 20 translators) will ride the *M.S. Vatutin*, journeying from Odessa to Kiev via Yalta, with a stop in Moscow. This trip has everything: onshore peace rallies; meetings with peace committees; visits

(Continued on page 21)

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DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

ARCH/APRIL 1988 VOLUME III, NO. 2

The Expanding Universe of John Pike

By Anne E. Rumsey

By his own account, "Star Wars" has been very, very good to John E. Pike, the ubiquitous space analyst of the Federation of American Scientists. Over the last four years, Pike has emerged as the always-available, all-purpose, nongovernmental source on virtually every aspect of space policy.

Pike, now associate director of FAS, a private, public-policy organization based in Washington, says he is knowledgeable about—or in his words "willing to comment on, which may or may not be different"—the entire range of space activities, both military and civilian, completed or in progress, in the United States and abroad. In addition, Pike considers himself competent to answer questions on a wide range of military and technological topics, including the Pentagon's secret "black" budget, stealth aircraft, cruise missiles, and general arms control matters.

"On some level," says Pike, "I think there's an assumption that if anything goes high or fast, or is classified, there's a better-than-even chance that I might have something interesting to say on the subject." Judging by the range of topics on which he is quoted, Pike's sense of his own utility is, if anything, modest.

On Sunday, January 3, for example, Pike was quoted by two *New York Times* science reporters. William J. Broad, perhaps the *Times*'s premier science writer covering defense issues, used Pike in a front-page news story on the secret testing of a lightweight chemical laser, code-named "Alpha," which is part of the space-based layer of Star Wars research. Pike spoke as a critic of the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative who questioned the legality of the test under the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty. "If we saw the Russians doing it," Broad quoted Pike as saying, "we'd say it was a violation." Pike made his second appearance of the day in "The Week in Review," this time as an expert on trends in U.S. space policy. Asked to comment on the woes besetting NASA in the two years since the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded, Pike told veteran John Noble Wilford, "We're just as lost in space now as we were two years ago."

Pike also scored twice in the January 11 issue of *Time*, which went on sale the day after his appearances in the *Times*. He was quoted once in his capacity as an expert on NASA, and in a separate report as an expert on the Pentagon's ability to verify arms control agreements using space-based infrared sensors.

According to a review of twelve major newspapers, magazines, and wire services by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, Pike was a source in 193 articles during 1986 and 1987. (See chart on page 8.) In slightly more than half the pieces, journalists tapped Pike for his expertise on space policy. Forty percent of the time he was used as a source on SDI. In other cases he was quoted on a wide range of topics, including the bugging of the U.S. embassy in Moscow, the effect of *glasnost* on the U.S.S.R., and the multibillion-dollar, high-energy-physics project known as the supercollider. Pike estimates he fields as many as five dozen calls from reporters for background and on-the-record information on a "fast day." A "moderate" day might yield twenty calls, and a "slow" one about a dozen.

Pike's best client by far has been *The New York Times*, reflecting both the *Times*'s apparent approval of Pike's work and the volume of coverage the newspaper devotes to SDI and space stories. Fifteen different writers who cover the business, national security, Pentagon, and science beats used Pike in fifty-five articles. The reporter who looked to Pike most frequently was William Broad, who, in his thorough coverage of SDI, nuclear testing, and the military uses of outer space, cited Pike in twenty-two articles. Other significant Pike patrons in the last two years were the Associated Press (which cited Pike in thirty-one news stories), *The Christian Science Monitor* (nineteen), the *Los Angeles Times* and the *National Journal* (fourteen each), and United Press International (thirteen).

In contrast to the *Times*, *The Washington Post*, which, like the *Times*, has covered SDI and the space program closely, quoted Pike in many fewer articles (eighteen) over the last two years. The *Post* usually cited Pike in breaking news stories to identify the classified payloads carried by NASA and Air Force rockets. Pike believes the *Post* quotes him less often than the *Times* because the *Post* is primarily interested in reporting the views and activities of government players. "*The Washington Post* only attributes official sources," says Pike. "If you're an unofficial source you're either not going to

Inside: Disarming Comments by Kenneth Adelman

show up at all or you're going to show up unattributed. The gist of a *Washington Post* news article is the correlation of forces within the government. The *Post* is basically reporting company news."

Although Pike has achieved a degree of prominence that is rare for a nongovernmental source, he is an also-ran in SDI stories in comparison with former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger and James Abrahamson, director of the SDI program. According to the data compiled by the Center, Pike was mentioned on 74 occasions over the last two years in SDI stories, while the former defense secretary was referred to by name 696 times; Abrahamson was cited in 364 articles. Neither Pike nor any other respected nongovernmental source has been able to rewrite the rule that official sources predominate. (See chart on page 7.)

The Star of Star Wars

Although Pike now comments regularly on a wide range of issues, he is best known as a critic of the Strategic Defense Initiative. Pike's views on SDI surprise some opponents of the missile-defense system. Unlike many other critics of the administration's program, he believes that elements of SDI could be successfully deployed. "I think that the technical prospects for SDI are much better than one would conclude from reading the general press," he says. In particular, Pike argues that a limited defense of missile silos is technically feasible, although a leak-proof population defense, along the lines of the impervious shield envisioned by President Reagan, is not. Estimating the probability that the proposed system can indeed be built, he says, "It's not in the category of a time machine. I think it's more along the lines of DIVAD [the trouble-plagued air defense system]—it might not do the job that the president's talking about, but, I mean, the bullets do come out of the barrel, the motor does drive." Pike says that SDI's greatest potential weakness is its vulnerability to countermeasures the Soviets could develop. He is also critical of the costs of researching and deploying a ballistic missile defense, which, he says, are about two to three times current Pentagon estimates.

There are, of course, other nongovernmental critics of Star Wars sharing many of Pike's views who appear from time to time in the media, including Ashton Carter, associate director of Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs; physicist Sidney Drell, co-director of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control; IBM's Richard Garwin; and Kosta Tsipis, director of the Science and Technology program at the Massachusetts

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Kenneth Adelman on the Press: Terrific, Outrageous, Unfair

Kenneth L. Adelman left the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency last December after having worked as its director for five years. In a recent interview at his home in suburban Washington, Adelman discussed a wide range of press issues with David M. Rubin, co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, and Lee Feinstein, executive editor of Deadline. *Adelman, now a national editor for* Washingtonian *magazine, talked about the importance he placed on press relations during his tenure at ACDA, compared the relative success of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in working with the news media, and assessed the performance of leading reporters who cover arms control and national security. Edited selections from the interview follow.*

Deadline: Did you view press relations as an important part of your job as director of ACDA?
Adelman: Yes. According to the mandate from Congress when the agency was established, press relations was one of the most important functions of the agency.
Deadline: Were you therefore viewed by your colleagues on the Reagan arms control team as a person who ought to be out front on public information questions?
Adelman: I don't think anything was that rational or logical. It just happened that I was readily available and accessible to the press, and I could answer most of the questions they had. I knew the policy as well as anyone did, and I knew what I could and what I couldn't say. I would never give out classified information. I would never give the press the outlines of our current arms control proposals. But I would confirm information if they found it elsewhere or change something if it was wrong. That could become very tricky. If they had part of the story, then I would try not to reveal the rest of the story, but I would say, "Yes, that is correct," or "No, that isn't."
Deadline: Were there any guidelines on whether or not anyone in the administration ought to be talking about a certain issue at a particular time?
Adelman: No. I would say that this administration was pretty poorly organized to handle public affairs in a coordinated manner.
Deadline: After leaving ACDA, did you have to sign any agreement that binds you to secrecy?
Adelman: No, I did not have to sign any. I didn't even know that such a beast exists. I was told when I left not to reveal classified information and was given the usual out-briefing. But nothing like that.
Deadline: You're now a journalist in part—do you have to vet what you write with anybody?
Adelman: Never, nobody.
Deadline: During your confirmation hearings, you said that you had a mission as arms control director to downplay the importance of arms control. And in an interview with Frederick Kempe of *The Wall Street Journal* you said, "It just hasn't happened." Why did you believe you should downplay arms control and why do you think you didn't succeed?
Adelman: It's important to downplay arms control because people confuse it with peace and stability. The big issues are the regional issues and the human rights issues, and they're totally overshadowed by arms control issues. We have not been able to downplay the importance of arms control for the simple reason that the press and the politicos in the White House focus on arms control. The public focuses on arms control, thinking that an arms treaty is somehow a peace agreement. It's the furthest thing in the world from a peace agreement.
Deadline: Are you saying that the press is a lobbyist for arms control?
Adelman: That's not how I would put it. I would say that the press focuses on arms control inordinately because the public is interested and because the press is confused into equating arms control with peace agreements.
Deadline: Did you ever talk to members of the press about how you thought they overemphasized this issue?
Adelman: Often, but this was their beat. If they had a choice of being on page A27 or on the front page, what do you think they'd want? They didn't mind that arms control was overemphasized; that was their bread and butter.

> It was easy to deal with Chernenko, and an almost-dead Brezhnev and an almost-dead Andropov. You didn't need to be very clever. But the free ride is over.

Deadline: Do you think they privately agreed with you?
Adelman: The good ones did. They realized that it was foolish to give blaring headlines to proposal after proposal, suggesting that something was happening, or that such activity meant something.
Deadline: Is it your sense that the engine driving this coverage was the editors, or journalistic history and tradition?
Adelman: I think it's more generally the culture and the intellectual climate. These proposals take on a life of their own. Politicians think the proposals are very important, the public thinks that they're very important, and so the press makes them very important. Look, there have not been very many arms control successes in history. And yet it's the focal point of security debates.
Deadline: You said recently that you were "happy" to have launched the president's series of reports on Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements. What about this undertaking made you happy?
Adelman: I was happy because I think Soviet cheating

on arms control is probably the biggest issue in the arms control field. If they don't comply with agreements, what good are the treaties?

Deadline: Don't you think the administration has been very successful in portraying the Soviets as cheaters?

Adelman: Not really. Even though 80 percent of the American people think that the Soviets cheat on arms control, they thought that before this administration. And the traditional arms control community has been attacking the noncompliance reports so that people are generally confused about it. So I don't think the reports have been a roaring success.

Deadline: Did you find there was a diminution of interest in those reports?

Adelman: Yes, because there wasn't much new from the first report to the last report; there were a lot of Soviet violations, but they weren't new.

Deadline: Is the repeating of these charges part of a diplomatic strategy? What has been the role of publicity in negotiating agreements versus settling differences quietly?

Adelman: I never got the idea that the Soviets took the compliance reports seriously enough for them to be part of the negotiating strategy.

Deadline: What arms control stories stand out in your mind as having been well or poorly reported?

Adelman: Soviet summits are covered to excess, there's no doubt about that. Foreign minister meetings are probably covered to excess. One area that reporters don't cover very much is what all this means in a bigger picture. What good is this 50 percent reduction going to do, and what are the pros and cons? Does arms control generally improve the political relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union? I personally don't think it does, but there are others, obviously, who presume it does. Those kinds of issues have not been raised. Those are the issues we asked to be studied in a Harvard University report on what arms control has provided over the years.*

Deadline: How much U.S.–Soviet diplomacy is conducted through the American press?

Adelman: Oh, a lot. My experience is that what happens in private appears in just about the same way in the press. There's very little private business conducted. We say to the Soviets just about exactly what we say in public. If you look at the public documents and statements, you will know what is happening in private.

Deadline: Is the press often employed to signal the other side as it was by the Kennedy administration during the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Adelman: This administration is not that organized. The release of information has been too chaotic to be employed as a device in careful diplomacy. I agree that the press was used this way during the Cuban Missile Crisis. And Kissinger did that very nicely during the [Vietnam] disengagement talks in 1973. But this administration has no capability of doing that.

Deadline: How well have the Soviets handled press relations in comparison with the current administration?

Adelman: I think the Soviets are now doing a very good job of working with the press. I'm not saying the West is duped or anything like that. But I think I remember saying in a Shultz staff meeting one day in 1985 or 1986 that this administration's gotten a free ride for four or five years in dealings with the Soviets. With Gorbachev in there I don't think we're going to get a free ride anymore. I mean, it was easy to deal with Chernenko and an almost-dead Brezhnev and an almost-dead Andropov. You didn't need to be very clever. But the free ride is over.

Deadline: Is it your sense that this administration understood your advice, or has it lost the initiative to Gorbachev?

Adelman: I think they've hobbled along. But it's hard. From the base Gorbachev started at it's easy to appear spectacularly successful. Also, it's easier for the Soviets to be successful in arms control because they can propose something and not follow it up, yet they get headlines around the world and are treated as a peace-loving country. Gorbachev's January 15, 1986, proposal to eliminate all nuclear weapons in three stages by the end of the century got headlines around the world. Everybody thought it was a great move for peace. No one has heard of it since.

> I think Strobe Talbott is just dead wrong on the whole subject of arms control, and I don't think he's fair. Walter Pincus was just outrageous.

Deadline: Why do you think journalists treated this story like that?

Adelman: I don't know. On this issue they were sloppy. It was interesting to compare the way *Time* magazine handled it with the way they handled the 1959 story when Nikita Khrushchev gave virtually the same speech proposing the elimination of nuclear weapons in three stages. Some of the language of the two Soviet leaders is almost identical. In 1959, *Time* said Khrushchev was laughed out of the international community, and this time they said Gorbachev had a very challenging, interesting perspective.

Deadline: *Time* obviously has some of the most competent arms control reporters, including Strobe Talbott.

Adelman: I don't believe so. I think Strobe Talbott is just dead wrong on the whole subject of arms control, and I don't think he's fair. The whole premise of his book *Deadly Gambits*, that was such the rage, is just wrong. It's just wrong. The premise that the zero option was something that the Soviets would never buy, that it was proposed for propaganda value, is so one-sided that it is preposterous. I mean, it's laughable right now.

*Editor's note: The 500-page study, *Learning from Experience with Arms Control*, was prepared under the direction of Albert Carnesale of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and released in 1986.

Plus I don't think Talbott's fair as a reporter. I think he tries to *People*-magazine the whole subject of arms control.

Deadline: Looking for personalities rather than dealing with issues?

Adelman: Yes. I mean, he does deal with issues, but I think he's very biased. We're all pro–arms control, but he's biased toward the view that reaching an arms control agreement results in a tremendous political advantage in international diplomacy and in U.S.–Soviet relations. He favors a traditional arms control view: Getting an agreement is almost more important than its terms.

Deadline: Would you say, then, that Talbott was one of the reporters who made it difficult for you to downplay arms control?

Adelman: Very much so. Of course, you have all kinds of peculiar things going on. Strobe Talbott is doing a book now on Paul Nitze [the president's chief negotiator on arms control]—a biography, okay?* *Time* has a lot of inside stories from the administration. If someone were writing a biography about me, I'd be very nice to him. I'd want a good biography. In Nitze, here is somebody who can not only give Talbott the papers, but can give him material week after week, which makes *Time* magazine look good.

Deadline: You're suggesting an ethical problem here.

Adelman: I think you have to watch the unwritten rule in Washington that if you feed stories to reporters they treat you nicely, and if you don't talk to them they don't treat you nicely. And I think there's something unethical about that. I didn't talk to Walter Pincus [national security correspondent of *The Washington Post*], and I didn't talk to Talbott. I don't think they were fair, and I don't think they tried to be objective. So, consequently, they both treated me miserably. Pincus and Talbott used to call all the time, at first, but I never returned their calls.

Deadline: Did you start out at ACDA not talking to them?

Adelman: Yes. I thought the way *Time* and Walter Pincus handled my confirmation was very unfair. *Time* published many facts that were wrong. They kept saying I was a Ph.D. in African studies, for example. I never took an African studies course in my life. And they kept saying all kinds of other goofy things that were just factually wrong. Walter Pincus was just outrageous. He made selective use of facts and exhibited a real anti–Reagan administration, negative, harping, critical bias in his reporting.

In 1983, Talbott wrote eight "assumptions" of the Reagan administration on strategic arms. I remember reading those and thinking to myself, "Well, here I am as arms control director, I attend all embassy meetings on arms control, I spend endless hours with the president and others in this administration, and I don't know anybody in this administration who believes any of the points." They were all preposterous. I never heard of any of them before. (See box below.)

Deadline: Was it courageous or foolish to have written off Talbott and Pincus when you came into office?

Adelman: I knew they were going to get me by having all kinds of bad articles. But I decided that I love to spend time with people in the field whom I respect. And I spent a lot of time. We organized something I'm very

*Editor's note: Strobe Talbott says the book is not a biography of Nitze but a sequel to his two earlier books about arms control policy.

True or False?

In his interview with *Deadline*, Kenneth Adelman criticized a *Time* article, written by Strobe Talbott and published on April 18, 1983, that described eight "assumptions" of the Reagan administration on arms control. He called the piece "preposterous." The assumptions are provided for the record.

1. The U.S. is now No. 2 and must therefore try harder.

2. As practiced in the past, arms control contributed to American inferiority and, if continued, would lock the U.S. permanently into second place. The U.S. gave up for the sake of disarmament military options that it should have exercised for the sake of rearmament, and it compounded that mistake by letting the Soviets keep open all of their options, and all of their assembly lines.

3. Because the U.S. is behind, and because arms control is partly to blame, the best course would be to suspend bilateral bargaining and concentrate on a unilateral American rearmament. Once the U.S. has reestablished equality, or better yet, a "margin of safety," it can resume talks and negotiate from strength.

4. If forced by political expediency to make proposals and engage in negotiations, the U.S. must insist on drastic cutbacks in the most modern, potent Soviet weapons already deployed; no comparable reductions are required, nor should they be considered, in existing American forces.

5. No agreement is better than a bad agreement, and a negotiable agreement is, almost by definition, a bad agreement.

6. If deals must be struck with what Reagan has called an "evil empire," a nation that reserves "the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat," then the U.S. must insist on the most intrusive, comprehensive inspection measures to assure that the Soviets are not violating any new agreement by hiding weapons that are supposed to be limited.

7. The U.S. must prepare, even in its agreements with the Soviet Union, for the possibility of protracted nuclear war.

8. Even if a "good" arms control agreement could be reached—one that lived up to the various desiderata of rolling back Soviet forces and allowing the U.S. to surge forward with its rearmament—there would still be reason for wariness about signing such a thing. Arms control inevitably induces a naive giddiness among Americans about the superpower relationship; it provides an alibi for not spending enough on defense. In that sense, arms control is *ipso facto* bad.

proud of. Every year we had the main reporters from the print media, television, and radio to a two-day conference to go over the nuts and bolts of arms control. We had four-year veterans, who had been invited year after year, who said it was the most valuable two days that they'd spent.

Deadline: Was your relationship with *Newsweek* better than your relationship with *Time*?

Adelman: Oh yes, it was always better at *Newsweek*. I worked with [diplomatic correspondent] Bob Cullen, who's a very good guy. And John Barry [national security correspondent], who came midway in my time.

At *Time*, I liked working with [Pentagon reporter] Bruce van Voorst. But he handled this issue only occasionally, and was a much lesser light than Strobe Talbott.

Deadline: Did you ever find yourself in the midst of rivalries among reporters?

Adelman: Yes. I called reporters at times and told them I thought their stories were unfair. I called Michael Gordon [national security correspondent for *The New York Times*] on occasion, although I think he's generally a very good reporter. I called Don Oberdorfer [diplomatic correspondent for *The Washington Post*] at times, although I think he's the best, terrific; Bill Beecher [Washington bureau chief of the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*]—you know, the usual crowd.

In one instance, I called them because I didn't think they got the nuclear testing issue right. They were overdoing it or misinterpreting what had happened, going on and on about how we're on the verge of some agreement to stop nuclear testing.

I also called reporters about stories that appeared before the Geneva summit. *The Washington Post* had story after story describing what the administration was going to do at the summit—or not do at the summit. They were based on nothing.

Overall, Oberdorfer and Gordon are among the best reporters. They try to be very fair and they come with no baggage. They may have their own opinions, and I've talked to them endlessly about that, but their stories just try to get it right. Often they checked with me if they felt they had something wrong. I think during my five years—and you can ask them—I always played straight with them. And even though I would disagree with something, I would say, "No, that's absolutely right, it's a fair way to present it," even though I thought the argument was wrong. I feel close to Bill Beecher, as well. I like R. Jeffrey Smith [national security correspondent for *The Washington Post*], Robert Toth [national security correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*], and many others.

Deadline: Is what distinguishes the good reporters the fact that they come to the beat with an arms control background?

Adelman: Not necessarily. The first time I met Don Oberdorfer, in 1983, he said he didn't know anything about this field.

Deadline: How about the network people who covered you either from the Pentagon or the State Department—for example, John McWethy of ABC, Anne Garrels of NBC, David Martin of CBS?

Adelman: I think they're good. I had a lot of dealings over the years with White House correspondents Chris Wallace and Andrea Mitchell of NBC, and with Rick Inderfurth [national security correspondent] from ABC News. And I thought they were fair. And when they weren't, I complained. Sometimes the network anchormen weren't fair. I remember calling ABC's Peter Jennings after the U.S. decision to break out of SALT II, saying he got it wrong and walking him through it. His emphasis was that the administration was staying within the SALT II limits because they were breaking up two ships.* My point was, "Forget about the ships, they would have been broken up anyway. The big message is, we're getting out of SALT II." Admittedly, the administration was confused on how it presented this decision, so it wasn't all Peter's fault.

Deadline: Did Jennings's reporting accommodate your point of view later on?

Adelman: I don't know. These are one-day stories, and generally an anchorman doesn't go back to them.

Deadline: It's surprising to hear that you're so calm about the network reporters, given that the subject you worked with is so complicated and the restraints of television are so severe.

Adelman: I am not one of those who thinks that you need a Ph.D. to talk about the Civil War or arms control. There can be levels of generality in this business, as long as you get it right.

Deadline: You were at ACDA for nearly five years. You know where the bodies are buried, what stories were reported well, what stories have never been reported. If you were a *New York Times* editor, what would you ask Michael Gordon to go after that has not yet been properly reported?

Adelman: First would be the makings of an arms control policy, how it works on the American side and how it works on the Soviet side, and a feeling for what the negotiations are like. That really has not been reported. Second would be to provide a historical view of whether a particular negotiating position has been tried and discussed before and, if so, how it's turned out. That's almost never done. And people just don't know history in this day and age. Third, harping back to my big message, would be to put arms control in the proper perspective.

Deadline: Whose stories will you read now to keep abreast of the issues?

Adelman: The usual characters in the *Post*, the *Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and elsewhere. But I would not believe *Time* magazine on the issue, because I think it's been so wrong over the years. So I discount it. I never read it. □

*Editor's note: On May 27, 1986, President Reagan announced that the U.S. no longer considered itself bound by SALT limits. This particular action caused considerable confusion in the press. See "Just What Did Reagan Mean When He Talked About SALT?" *Deadline*, July/August 1986.

Pike's Universe

(continued from page 2)

Institute of Technology. But none of these scientists—all of them Ph.D.'s—is cited nearly as often as Pike, who holds a B.S. degree in technology assessment from Vanderbilt University (and also boasts of an 1,100-page treatise he wrote on strategic nuclear war while in eleventh grade).

"He's the chief spokesman for the technical critique," says David C. Morrison, national security correspondent for the *National Journal*. "Quoting him is almost irresistible." John Noble Wilford, who covers space policy for the *Times*, says of Pike, "He's one of the first people I call on a takeout. He's an excellent resource on these issues."

Pike's role as an important source for journalists began to take wing in the year following President Reagan's 1983 Star Wars speech, when the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization was created to coordinate research on ballistic missile defenses. It was at that time, says Pike, "that people decided SDI was going to be around for a while."

Then a staff assistant at FAS hired to concentrate on research and writing, as well as lobbying for FAS positions on space weapons, Pike gradually began to field more phone calls. As the SDI program became more entrenched and the debate over it grew more heated, Pike gave up lobbying in order to devote more time to answering the growing number of calls. At first, says Pike, some reporters were reluctant to refer to him by name, preferring to attribute information he provided to "an informed source outside the government."

"I had to demonstrate my credibility to the individual reporter over a period of time before the reporter would be willing to vouch for it," says Pike. He won the confidence of reporters through his extensive knowledge of the SDI program and his ability to answer their questions on deadline. "He's very useful when you need to find out where something is in the process," says Wilford of the *Times*. "If you want to know if something has

Pike's Competition

Just how ubiquitous is John Pike in comparison with other leading sources? In order to place his appearances in context, the Center did a quick check of how often he was mentioned in stories on SDI compared with the number of times other official and nonofficial sources were mentioned by a dozen diverse news organizations during 1986 and 1987. In addition to Pike, the sources chosen and the positions they held during these two years are: James A. Abrahamson, director, Strategic Defense Initiative Organization; Richard L. Garwin, IBM fellow, Thomas J. Watson Research Center; Daniel O. Graham, director, High Frontier; Louis C. Marquet, deputy director for technology, SDIO; Edward Teller, associate director emeritus, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; Caspar W. Weinberger, secretary of defense (until November 23, 1987); and Gerald Yonas, chief scientist, SDIO and (from September 1986) president, Titan Technologies. The chart below indicates the number of times each news organization cited one of the eight sources in its SDI stories during 1986 and 1987.*

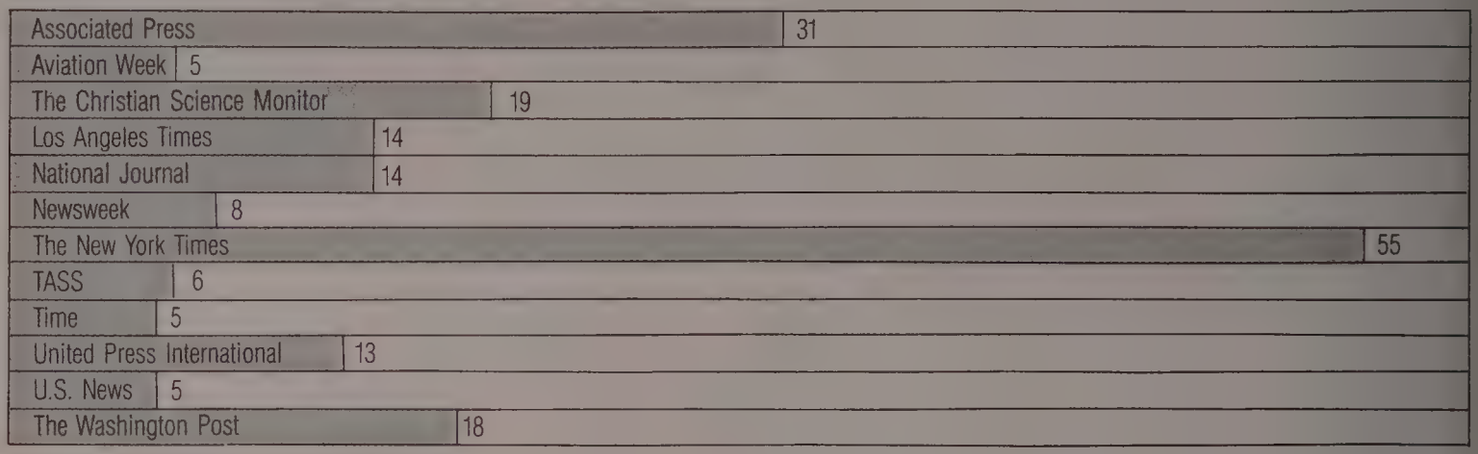
	Source							
News Organization	Abrahamson	Garwin	Graham	Marquet	Pike	Teller	Weinberger	Yonas
Associated Press	71	2	3	3	13	8	—	2
Aviation Week	41	1	1	4	3	1	—	0
The Christian Science Monitor	16	1	5	0	7	4	—	0
Los Angeles Times	31	0	3	2	3	8	—	0
National Journal	10	0	4	0	8	1	—	0
Newsweek	4	0	0	0	1	1	—	0
The New York Times	38	1	3	2	12	9	—	1
TASS	9	2	2	0	3	4	—	0
Time	10	1	0	0	4	2	—	0
United Press International	61	2	15	0	8	15	—	0
U.S. News & World Report	6	1	0	1	2	2	—	0
The Washington Post	67	1	7	3	10	7	—	1
Total	**364**	**12**	**43**	**15**	**74**	**62**	**696**	**4**

*This information is derived from a Nexis search that paired names of the eight sources with key terms describing the SDI program. To facilitate a search of this size, the Center did not break down the frequency of Weinberger mentions by news organization.

John Pike in the News

How often does John Pike really turn up in the news? Below is the answer for 1986 and 1987. The top chart shows the number of stories—on all subjects—in which Pike was mentioned, broken down by news organization. The other shows the number of stories in which he was cited by each reporter at five of the organizations.*

Where He Was Cited . . .



. . . And by Whom

The New York Times	**55**
William J. Broad	22
Michael R. Gordon	6
John Noble Wilford	5
David E. Sanger	4
Philip M. Boffey	3
Charles Mohr	3
John H. Cushman, Jr.	2
Stuart Diamond	1
Erik Eckholm	1
Ben A. Franklin	1
Bill Keller	1
Laura Mansnerus and Katherine Roberts	1
Richard W. Stevenson	1
John Tagliabue	1
No byline	3

Associated Press	**31**
Howard Benedict	7
Bryan Brumley	5
Deborah Mesche	2
William M. Welch	2
Tim Ahern	1
John Antczak	1
Avi Arditti	1
Norman Black	1
Jim Drinkard	1
Randolph Schmid	1
Lee Siegel	1
No byline	8

The Christian Science Monitor	**19**
Marshall Ingwerson	7
Peter Grier	4
Charlotte Saikowski	3
Peter N. Spotts	2
Scott Armstrong	1
Howard LaFranchi	1
Elizabeth Pond	1

The Washington Post	**18**
R. Jeffrey Smith	5
Fred Hiatt	3
Kathy Sawyer	3
Walter Pincus	2
Charles Fishman	1
Michael Isikoff	1
Molly Moore	1
Mary Thornton	1
No byline	1

Los Angeles Times	**14**
James Gerstenzang	6
Rudy Abramson	1
Thomas H. Maugh III	1
Robert C. Toth	1
Ralph Vartabedian	1
No byline	4

*This information was derived from a Nexis search of all articles in which Pike was cited during 1986 and 1987, excluding letters to the editor, book reviews, and op-eds. It should be noted that not all of these reporters covered beats for which Pike's information might be considered relevant for the entire two years included in this study.

reached the president yet, it might take the White House two days to find out if it's there. If you called the Pentagon, they probably wouldn't tell you, or they wouldn't return your call. John keeps tabs on those things." Says Morrison, "The extent to which DoD is unable to provide timely answers to reporters' questions creates an opportunity for John."

Pike prepares for these calls by collecting as much basic data about SDI and space policy as he can find—and that is a considerable amount. He says he gets most of his information from specialized publications, some of which did not exist even a few years ago, such as *Aerospace Daily, Aviation Week, Defense News, Defense Week, Inside the Pentagon, Military Space,* and *SDI Monitor.* Pike says that despite the sanitizing of congressional hearings during the last seven years, government documents still remain useful. "There's just a lot more raw information available for somebody like me to be able to piece together an informed picture of what's going on," he says.

> Pike's visibility carries with it the danger of overexposure — although compared with SDIO chief James Abrahamson, Pike is an also-ran.

His most powerful tool is a computer data base he developed to track technical and budgetary information on SDI contracts, space launches, strategic weapons, and verification issues. He culls the data from defense trade publications, the general press, congressional hearings, trade-show publications, and other defense analysts. It permits him to provide information on many subjects that would give a Pentagon public affairs officer a bad case of lockjaw. One such subject—the military payloads carried on NASA and Air Force rockets—has become a mainstay of Pike's business. "I have identified in advance the contents of every military launch for the past two and one half years," he says. Last summer he told the Associated Press and several trade magazines months in advance that two Titan rockets would be launching a KH-11 reconnaissance satellite on October 26 and an early-warning satellite on November 28. Pike admits to being wrong about such things only once, when he misidentified the payload of a Titan 34D that crashed after launch in April 1986. Before the launch Pike had told reporters the payload was a KH-11 reconnaissance satellite, when in fact the rocket turned out to carry a KH-9. "I have different confidence levels on these things," he explains. "I had a lower confidence level on that one, and I tried to say that then. I knew it was a photoreconnaissance satellite, but as it turned out I got the right make but the wrong model."

The Pentagon's reluctance to make basic information available to reporters mystifies Pike, who thinks the Defense Department has made a mistake in not serving journalists better. "If I were running that operation, I would have hot and cold running press officers crawling all over the place, dragging big folders bulging with handouts and big, glossy photos," he says. "To the extent that SDI gets bad press it's their own fault."

The Price of Fame

Pike's visibility carries with it the danger of overexposure—although compared with such government sources as former defense secretary Weinberger and SDIO chief Abrahamson, Pike appears rarely. "You don't want to overuse someone," says Wilford, acknowledging the problem. "I tend to have a high regard for John's opinions and evaluations, but you do have to think about the fact that he is the most widely used nonofficial source on space-policy issues."

Warren Strobel of *The Washington Times*—who says he talks to Pike about every six weeks—is less concerned about overusing him. "One Air Force guy I interviewed for an article where I also quoted Pike got upset because he said every time he saw an article on space, Pike was in it," he recalls. "But that's him talking, not me. John has never called me for exposure. I'm always the one who's calling him."

Journalists also do not want to appear to rely heavily on someone clearly identified as a critic of administration policy. Pike says that Reagan's reelection in 1984 ensured that the Star Wars debate would not fade but paradoxically also made it more difficult for presidential critics to gain credibility with the news media. Among the press and the public, "officials enjoyed a very strong presumption of credibility, reliability, and authority," says Pike. "They won the last election; they had the mandate of heaven." David Morrison, who quoted Pike in only a handful of articles in the *National Journal* in the last two years, was nonetheless taken to task by conservative media critic Jude Wanniski in his *1987 Media Guide* for relying too heavily on Pike.

Strobel says he does not hesitate to use Pike in *The Washington Times* but recognizes he is partisan. "John's got his own point of view and you have to take that into account," says Strobel, whose paper's coverage is known for its conservative slant. He adds, however, that Pike's opinions do not prevent him from being "real good on factual stuff."

David Evans, military analyst for the *Chicago Tribune,* agrees. "Both Pike and FAS have a high degree of credibility," he says. "I think it is important for reporters to cover as many different perspectives as they can: the SDIO, John Pike, the Center for Defense Information. You cover the waterfront. It's important to bring in some skepticism and alternative views."

Knowledgeable and skeptical, Pike is also quotable. For example, the Associated Press, *Time,* and *The New York Times* called Pike for quotes the week of December 30, 1987, when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri V. Romanenko returned to earth after spending almost eleven months

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Campaign Coverage That Hits the Target

As the boys on the bus grind out their quota of horse-race stories on the 1988 presidential election, a handful of journalists are proving that it really is possible to cover the candidates' positions on arms control. Reporters who cover defense and national security for *The Boston Globe*, Cox Newspapers, and *Defense Week* found their way into the campaign and have produced some excellent and unusual analyses.

Among the most successful of these was a package on Representative Jack Kemp compiled by David J. Lynch, associate editor of *Defense Week*. Early last July, Lynch trailed the Kemp campaign in Iowa to chart the candidate's success in trumpeting his support for early deployment of SDI. The result was a four-page profile of the candidate and an accompanying Q. and A. headlined, IN IOWA, KEMP LINKS SDI WITH WHITE HOUSE HOPES.

The piece, published on July 13, revealed just how zealous is Kemp's advocacy of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Lynch quoted Kemp's campaign spokesman John Buckley, for example, as saying, "If you woke Jack up in the middle of the night and said, 'What is the single most important issue to you?' he would say, 'Deployment of SDI.'" From the interview one learned that the candidate seems to believe he is a stronger advocate of SDI than the president himself, who, Kemp noted, hasn't overcome the opposition of the State Department or the Joint Chiefs of Staff to early deployment of the missile defense. (Kemp attributed the opposition of the JCS to "inertia, intellectual lethargy, [and a] status quo mentality.")

Lynch prodded the conservative candidate into providing a blueprint of his proposed SDI. Kemp's responses were remarkably vague considering that the program is the acknowledged centerpiece of his campaign. "I would begin with kinetic energy and move into laser and directed energy," Lynch quoted Kemp as saying. "But I can't define exactly what the system is. . . . I'm not required in a campaign to tell you exactly what type of a system I would have."

Jim Stewart, military affairs correspondent for Cox Newspapers, filed a two-part series in *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* on what he suggests will be a major problem facing the next president: managing a shrinking defense budget. As a complement to the series, published on October 25 and 26, Stewart provided concise profiles of each candidate that included information difficult to find elsewhere, such as the military service backgrounds of each of the candidates and distillations of their positions on key weapons systems. Stewart revealed that although all but two of the Democrats (Bruce Babbitt and Jesse Jackson) served either in the reserves or on active duty, none saw combat. On the Republican side, according to Stewart, in the same year Kemp led the San Diego Chargers to a divisional title in the American Football League, he was granted a medical exemption by his draft board and did not serve with his Army reserve unit when it was activated in 1962 during the Berlin Wall Crisis.

Regarding the candidates' positions on specific weapons, Stewart's profiles revealed that Babbitt opposes funding two additional *Nimitz*-class aircraft carriers, Jackson would halt production of sea-launched cruise missiles, Michael Dukakis favors continued production of the Stealth bomber, Kemp favors deployment of a new generation of modern nuclear weapons in Europe, and Pierre du Pont advocates declaring the ABM treaty null and void and deploying SDI by 1996.

A timely piece by Fred Kaplan, national security correspondent of *The Boston Globe*, provides another example of the type of insight that a reporter with special expertise can lend to campaign coverage. Kaplan's October 12 story, EFFORT TO BAN FLIGHT-TESTING: HOW IT GREW, was among the most useful of numerous follow-ups that appeared in the wake of the September 27 Iowa debate, which focused on national security. The headlines in most of the newspapers in the weeks following emphasized Albert Gore's effort to separate himself from the rest of the Democratic pack on national security questions. What few of the stories explained, however, was the meaning and significance of Gore's studied opposition to a moratorium on the flight-testing of ballistic missiles—a ban that other Democratic candidates supported. It is likely that most readers did not know what an in-flight-missile ban is, or why it is important. For these readers, Kaplan's piece, which described the origins and current status of the proposal, provided a basis on which to evaluate the wisdom of Gore's opposition to the plan.

In addition to these efforts, two other journalists who cover arms control and national security—Strobe Talbott of *Time* and Robert C. Toth of the *Los Angeles Times*—have filed stories on the presidential candidates, although, to date, their campaign pieces have not been quite so revealing.

The efforts of Lynch, Stewart, and Kaplan suggest that it is possible to provide substantive coverage of national security issues during a presidential campaign. As a recent *Deadline* article indicated, arms control reporters have questions they would like to ask the candidates. [See "Arms Control Questions for the Campaign Trail," January/February 1988.] Reporters might ask Dukakis, who has pledged to reduce defense spending, how he plans to fund the conventional weapons buildup he has advocated. Or they might ask Gore, who pledges to work toward a world in which the nuclear deterrent of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is dependent solely on single-warhead mobile missiles, "How would you verify small Soviet mobile missiles?" "In which state's backyard would the U.S. missiles be based?" "How would security for the weapons, which would travel on the nation's highways, be provided?"

There are scores of other national security questions to pose to the candidates. Will arms control reporters be given the opportunity to ask them? □

Pike's Universe

(continued from page 9)

n orbit. At the same time, NASA announced a major est failure of a new booster rocket for the space shuttle. Pike, the professional quotemeister, had a snappy remark for each. In addition to the comment he gave *The New York Times*—"We're just as lost in space now as we were two years ago"—he told the Associated Press: "It was a good day for them and a bad day for us." And to *Time*, he said: "The Soviet cosmonauts got a big boost on their way to Mars. They know where they're going. We don't."

"I've been playing this game for four and a half years now, so generally I've got a pretty good idea of the story these guys are looking for," says Pike with a smile. "When there's really something big going on, if somebody calls me around lunchtime, I've got it down—I've been practicing and perfecting my one-liner all morning." He shrugs and says, "That's the way the world works. You have to recognize that's what's called for. Twelve-word sound bites are just as much a skill as 300-word op-ed pieces or 5,000-word articles or 70,000-word books—if they're good. It's a communication art form just like any of the rest of those modes—it's haiku."

However poetic Pike may be, his success exemplifies a new development in national security journalism toward greater reliance on unofficial sources. It is difficult to say just how recent this development is, although Pike believes that reporters are more willing to use nongovernmental sources now than a generation ago, when the first battle over ballistic missile defenses raged in the U.S. "You go back and look at the daily and weekly coverage of that debate," says Pike, "and you find that reporters relied almost entirely on official sources. There was no John Pike of the Safeguard debate."

The increasing visibility of Pike and his colleagues is the result of a variety of factors. The difficulty of sorting through an avalanche of government documents, the unwillingness of some reporters to rely solely on government sources, and the scarcity of sources who will speak on the record—all contribute to Pike's popularity. Twenty-five years ago it would have been hard to imagine a reporter like Evans of the *Tribune* saying, "People like Pike are essential to my work. I couldn't do my job as well without them." □

ANNE E. RUMSEY is a reporter for States News Service in Washington, D.C.

Letters

The Miami Herald Focuses On Cuba

To the Editor:

I would like to comment on Miranda Spencer's representation of *The Miami Herald*'s handling of the 1987 Amnesty International report ["Human Rights Reporting: Letting Nations Off the Hook," January/February 1988].

Spencer errs in saying that our "only coverage of the Amnesty report was an editorial attack on Florida's Caribbean neighbor," Cuba. Hidden on page 1 of the September 30 *Herald* was a fourteen-inch news story on the report.

Like our editorial, the news story focused on Cuba for compelling reasons. Forty-three percent of Dade County's population is Hispanic, and four-fifths of those persons are Cubans who have fled the Castro regime. Moreover, Greater Miami has a sizable population of political refugees from Nicaragua and El Salvador. Because of Cuba's involvement in the civil war in El Salvador and its support of the Sandinista regime, those readers' interest in Cuba's treatment of its own people is, to this editor, self-evident.

For the record, one of our editorial board members spent fifteen years in forced labor in Cuba before being allowed to emigrate. He regularly writes editorials about human rights violations wherever they occur. Moreover, our editorial board has met with representatives of Amnesty International, Americas Watch, and other human rights groups whenever they have requested a meeting.

I doubt that any major newspaper in America serves a community whose proportion of residents who have fled oppression even approaches Miami's. No responsible newspaper would fail to localize reports such as Amnesty's if it were operating in our environment.

Jim Hampton
Editor
The Miami Herald

Miranda Spencer replies. In reviewing *The Miami Herald*'s coverage of the Amnesty International report, I relied on a nationally known clipping service. That service apparently overlooked the September 30 piece. I regret the error.

Having reviewed this piece, which appeared under the headline, RIGHTS GROUP CITES NEW REBELS IN CUBAN PRISONS, I continue to feel that the *Herald*'s coverage did not accurately represent the content of the Amnesty report. The *Herald*'s emphasis on Cuba was understandable, given the composition of Miami's population. But in the search for a local angle, the *Herald* failed to convey the main message of the Amnesty report, which was that human rights abuses persist in four-fifths of the world's nations and in every type of political system.

The First Urge

To the Editor:

Robert Karl Manoff's fine analysis of the photo of the Soviet mother and child shoveling snow in Red Square ["Dateline Moscow: Reporting the Other by Denying the Self," *Deadline*, January/February 1988] missed one important point.

A hermetically sealed, impenetrably bundled Russian kid's first urge is not going to be to imitate his or her mother's actions, but, like American kids, to go to the bathroom.

Shelley A. Sandow
Chicago, Illinois

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JSSIA/Continued from page 19

farms, factories and homes; onboard orkshops on topics such as *glasnost* and armament; speakers (such as David ortright of SANE/FREEZE); Russian lan-age lessons; ballroom dancing; sightsee-g; air-conditioned cabins; and plenty of dka. The all-inclusive price is $2,295 to ,745; reserve immediately, as the tour de-rts May 31. *Contact:* Promoting Endur-g Peace, P.O. Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 460, (203) 878-4769.

Youth encounters and language study e the focus of other tours. For example, e exchange organization **Youth Ambas-dors of America** (YAA) coordinates two mmer programs for intrepid vacationers ed seven to 20. A sleep-away camp ong the rolling hills and waters of reslavl has American and Soviet children aying earthball, painting peace murals d catching fireflies together.

YAA will send a Russian language prac-e tape to American campers before their p. The Soviet educational system, which rts English instruction in kindergarten, ll help Johnny and Jill break the language rrier. But campers can also always com-unicate through music: singing and musi-l instruments are also emphasized.

YAA also offers a computer camp, ere youth at all levels of digital literacy rn to program and run Apples and their lgarian clones. The sleep-away camps n from July 3 to 17 and from August 6 to ; computer camps from July 17 to 31 and gust 6 to 20. Costs range from $2,950 to ,695. *Contact:* Youth Ambassadors of nerica, Box 5273, Bellingham, WA 227, (206) 734-6132.

Voices of the Future, the youth division Anniversary Tours (see below) can ar-ge for 150 12- to 15-year-olds to attend mp Artek, near Yalta. Run by the Soviet ung Pioneer organization, and a pit stop the late Samantha Smith, Artek's itiner-y ranges from outings and games to a eace Day" celebration. The camp runs m July 15 to August 20, and includes veral days' worth of sightseeing trips in oscow. Cost, including flight from New rk, is $1,750.

Voices of the Future recently organized other youth/educational tour that will ely run again next year: a two-week ung Journalists trip. ("Young" means der 40; "journalist" means journalism dents and also practitioners.) At $900, quite the bargain.

ommercial Tours

the commercial tours to the Soviet ion, some good bets include: **Anniversary Tours, Tour Design, General Tours,** and the **Russian Travel Bureau.**

■ **Anniversary Tours** is the premier choice for finding a people-to-people tour. For one thing, it is the agent through which many of the peace trips mentioned above make their arrangements. Founded in 1967, Anniversary Tours was the first U.S. travel agency to pioneer people-to-people travel to politically unpopular countries. It now offers a regular series of tours open to individuals, including 150 standard tours and dozens of special interest trips. All of these tours combine scheduled visits to Soviet institutions with free time for more spontaneous encounters. *Contact:* Anniversary Tours, 250 West 57th St., New York, NY 10107, (212) 245-7501.

A Soviet peasant woman waves an American flag given to her by a U.S. tourist.

■ **Tour Design** packages tours to accommodate group requests and specializes in travel to the Soviet Union. Unlike many such agencies, it will also help you arrange independent travel. Two open tours, which arrange contacts with local residents and peer groups, include an arts and architecture trip through the Baltic republics or Russia/Georgia/Armenia, with an emphasis on ethnic aesthetic traditions. These run August 22 to September 5 and October 8 to 21, costing $2,999 and $2,475 respectively. *Contact:* Tour Design, 510 H St. SW, Washington, DC 20024, (202) 554-5820.

■ **General Tours**, which claims to be the nation's largest Soviet tour broker, offers 24 trips a year. It has a permanent American representative in the Soviet Union and has worked extensively with peace groups. *Contact:* General Tours, 711 Third Ave., New York, NY 10003, (212) 598-1800.

■ The **Russian Travel Bureau** also offers numerous Soviet tours, with the Trans-Siberian Railroad Adventure being the most popular. A nine-day-long ride across vast expanses of mountains and valleys, the trip allows ample elbow-rubbing with your affluent Soviet seatmates. Nine such trips are offered each year, with departure dates starting May 11 through October 5. Cost is $2,793 during summer months, $2,493 otherwise. *Contact:* Russian Travel Bureau, 225 East 44th St., New York, NY 10017, (800) 847-1800 or (212) 986-1500.

Academic Travel Abroad coordinates educational tours for universities and professional organizations. *Contact:* Academic Travel Abroad, 3210 Grace St. NW, Washington, DC 20007, (202) 333-3355.

Amity Tours arranges for special interest groups and educational organizations to visit the Soviet Union. Write for a free booklet, "How to Organize a Group Tour to the Soviet Union." *Contact:* Amity Tours, 1219 Arguello, Redwood City, CA 95061, (415) 364-5930.

Friendship Force coordinates ARMS (American-Russian Mutual Survival), an experimental program in which delegations of Americans spend a week in Soviet homes (and vice versa). Groups of 11 leave each month. *Contact:* Friendship Force, Suite 575 South Tower 1-CNN, Atlanta, GA 30303, (404) 522-9490.

Mountain Travel organizes mountain climbing trips in the Soviet Union. One this summer takes climbers up Mt. Elbrus. *Contact:* Mountain Travel, 1398 Solano Ave., Albany, CA 94706, (415) 527-8100.

And if you are ambitious, you can plan your own visit to the Soviet Union with **Intourist**, the official Soviet tourist information agency. *Contact:* Intourist, 630 Fifth Ave., Suite 686, New York, NY 10020, (212) 757-3884.

Once you have selected a tour, or if you are still at a loss for one that suits you, speak to **Working Assets Travel Service**, which acts as an information clearinghouse for "socially responsible" travel the world over. If you book a trip through Working Assets, two percent of your travel purchases will be placed in a donation pool on behalf of peace, human rights, environment, and hunger-aid groups. Although their file of Soviet tours has only recently been opened, the referrals they offer have been carefully screened. *Contact:* Working Assets Travel, 230 California St., San Francisco, CA 94111, (800) 522-7759.

Any and all of these tours should open your eyes and heart. Greg Levoniuk, a Queens banker who took an Anniversary tour, says, "You've got to see [the Soviet Union] for yourself to figure out what the hell is going on. It's not all bad." He adds, "I'd go back tomorrow." □

War Play

Every weekend thousands are donning camouflage fatigues and heading for the woods to shoot at each other in make-believe battles.

BY HOWARD KOHN

The Virginia woodland an hour southwest of Washington, D.C., is so hilly, bouldered and densely thicketed that the best way to find the enemy is to be still and listen. Kneeling in the shadow of a looming gray rock, I heard two men approaching from opposite directions. I knew the man behind me was on my side, moving up to give me support.

I concentrated on the crunching of leaves in front of me, 40, 30, 20 feet away. I held my breath. Suddenly, the man behind me fired a shot; a spray from the gunfire spattered off the rock and into my face.

Running for cover, I waved him off, yelling "friend." Then I saw, too late, his red armband. The enemy! I was trapped!

Miraculously, all his shots missed. I hid behind another rock and felt the relief of one granted new life. It was freezing, but sweat ran under my fatigues.

Afterwards I felt I should be ashamed for having had such a thrill. I had found playing war to be exhilarating, yet I consider myself to be a peace advocate. Was I not mocking myself and my hope for world peace if I enjoyed the making of war, make-believe though it may be?

Over the last few years, thousands of American adults have been playing games that involve shooting other people, not unlike the objective of real soldiers in real combat. Some social scientists warn that such war play may desensitize us to the real thing. These games, some say, can teach a love of war.

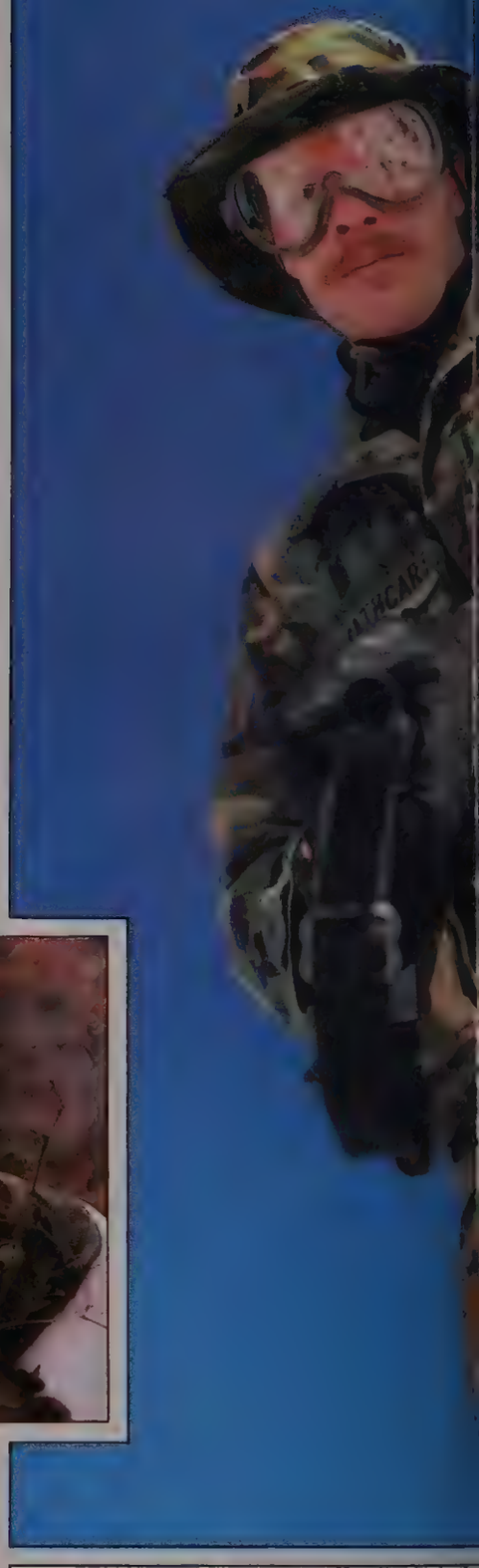
But the converse may be closer to the truth. The lesson from these games may be not that players will learn to love war, but that there is something about war already loved too much by too many of us.

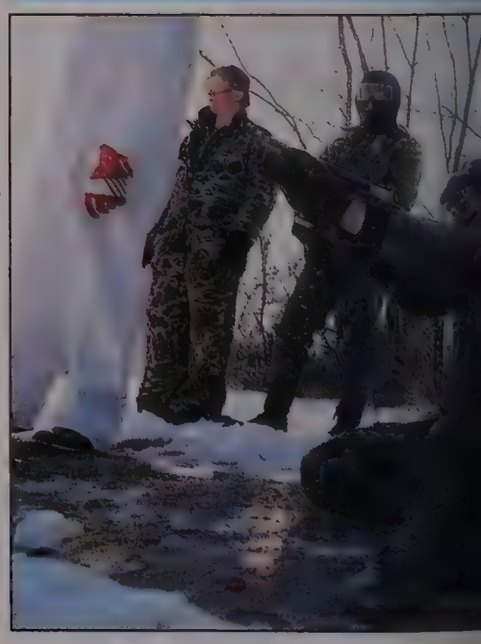
Sandlot War. "It's a sport—the same as softball," is a description much repeated by players of the game. In fact, the war games that are now in vogue are based not on team sports, but on two widely popular children's games, capture the flag and tag [see sidebar, page 31].

War game correspondent Howard Kohn in the trenches.

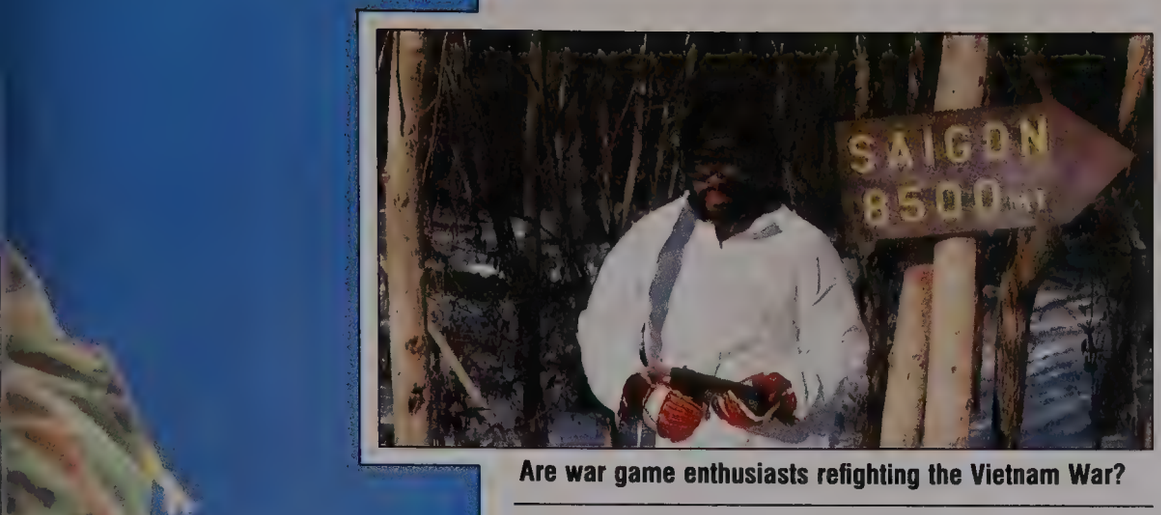
In the capture-the-flag version, two teams of players dressed in camouflage fatigues with faces smeared green and brown shoot paint-filled plastic pellets at each other while trying to steal the other team's flag. It is played outdoors in all types of weather. In the game based on tag, players wear bull's-eye targets on their chests and shoot guns that fire a laser-like light. An accurate shot triggers a beeping noise. The game is designed for indoor and outdoor play.

Both games are popular in every region of the country and among all economic classes. Adults of all ages play, although the typical age is about 30. Surprisingly, a noteworthy number of women play, and the

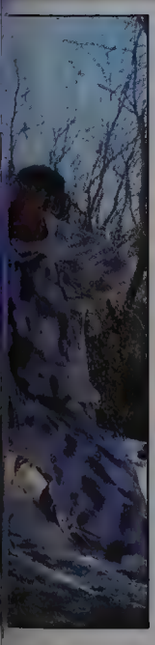




Howard Kohn is a contributing editor of Nuclear Times *and the former director of the Center for Investigative Reporting's Washington, D.C. office. He is the author of* Who Killed Karen Silkwood, *and his new book,* The Last Farmer, *will be published later this year.*



Are war game enthusiasts refighting the Vietnam War?



Above: The flag. Left: Players practice their shooting before the game starts.

political views of the players are not predictable. Late at night last summer on Embassy Row in Washington, a pedestrian who thought she was under attack by gun-waving thieves discovered they instead were environmentalists playing Laser Tag.

The games have taken on aspects of organized sports. Since 1984, better players of the capture-the-flag version have been competing on teams in regional playoffs and a national tournament in New Hampshire. Some teams even have company sponsors, as in organized softball. But typical team names—the Brain-Dead Mercenaries, the Land Sharks and the Faces of Death—evoke the more casual sandlot softball and a sense of black humor.

Playing at war *is* fun, as games usually are, and unlike many organized sports, it poses little risk of injury. As Doug Evans, who runs the Great American Commando Club in Northern Virginia, says, "It's not a violent sport. It's not hockey. We don't go around and highstick people and knock their teeth out . . . . We're not carrying people off in stretchers."

But playing at war is at once more titillating and more disturbing than other games because players use a gun to shoot another person—the fundamental act of war.

The Killer Instinct? Dr. Philip Zimbardo a Stanford University social psychologist known for his experiments in which subjects played the roles of prison guards and inmates, denounced war games in a debate on ABC's *Nightline* last September. Faced off with "Doc" James, a war-game operator in the Chicago area, Zimbardo said, "The Army prepares me to go to war by playing games exactly like yours, with fake bullets, with tracer bullets, and that's how we prepare them to be killers. So they call it war games. Calling it a game does not change the content of the game, which means the purpose is to execute—to kill—another member of the human race. Even if it's simulated, that's the purpose, to conquer and kill."

Of the 15 players I met and interviewed, every one scoffed at this idea. Doug Evans said he has yet to see anyone exhibit behavior that hinted at blood lust. Jim Albert, a computer programmer who played opposite me, apologized for shooting near my face. Over a few beers I heard a run of stories, but none reminded me of Robert Duvall and his obsession with body counts in *Apocalypse Now*. Rob Peters, a Washington environmentalist who applied for conscientious-objector status during the Vietnam War, said that after playing the tag game more than 70 times and shooting hundreds of opponents he has not once had the sensation of a kill. "Not remotely," he emphasized. Tim Halliday, another player, told me, "Maybe it's disingenuous, but I don't think I could ever actually kill anyone. If I had to go to war, I might never pull the trigger."

Killing is what repels many of us from war. When Americans have gone to the front lines, it has not automatically followed that they develop an eagerness, or even a willingness, to kill. Brigadier General S.L.A. Marshall's famous study of U.S. infantrymen in World War II found that no more than 25 percent—and often as few as 15 percent—ever fired their guns when fired upon.

William Broyles, an Army lieutenant in Vietnam and former editor of *Newsweek*, describes himself as a nonviolent person who has not been in a fistfight since elementary school. Broyles, too, had moral qualms before accepting his commission in Vietnam. Once there, though, he began to savor the tension and the strategy. In a controversial article published in *Esquire* in 1984, he wrote, "War is a brutal deadly game, but a game, the best there is. And men love games."

If such a conclusion seems monstrous on first reading, it seems less so after playing a war game. The more a war game approximates real war—with the single exception of bloodshed—the more appealing it is to many players. Mud, sandpapery brush, insects, extreme temperatures and overall discomfort all seem to add to the enjoyment. As a rule, the more demanding the games are in terms of stamina, athletic coordination, reflexes, strategy and sacrifice,

(Continued on page 31)

PHOTO OF HOWARD KOHN BY © DIANA KOHN 1987 / OTHER PHOTOS BY © TOM COGILL 1988

ALTERNATIVE SECURITY/HAL HARVEY

NATURAL SECURITY

TO AVOID WAR, WE NEED NEW POLICIES FOR MANAGING THE EARTH'S RESOURCES

From the Campaign to Stop the MX to the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the peace movement has largely defined itself in terms of what it has opposed. But changes in U.S. security policy and the national political climate require commensurate changes in peace movement strategy. President Reagan has signed one of the most far-reaching arms control treaties ever, and most political leaders now endorse arms control. It will no longer suffice simply to oppose weapons and military spending; the peace movement must now actively propose ways to build national security.

Proponents of so-called "alternative security" policies have begun to formulate positive proposals that address military issues. But they largely ignore the more basic issue of the conflicts that draw nations into war. In particular, they have ignored one set of conflicts—over resources—that is both fundamental and an area ripe for policy proposals.

Competition and Conflict. Nations have long ventured beyond their borders to find resources they want or need, and have fought for those resources when resisted. The quest for tea, tobacco, spices, gold and oil was the driving force behind the Spanish, Dutch and British empires. Competition for oil, phosphates, minerals and even fish has been a primary factor in half-a-dozen wars in the last two decades.

The Iran/Iraq war, at root a regional and religious contest, has turned into a prominent stage for superpower rivalry because of the Persian Gulf's vast oil reserves. Both superpowers have tried to influence the outcome of the war—by providing arms, underwriting the belligerents' economies, and by beefing up their own presence in the gulf. Their involvement has dramatically boosted the scale of the war. Worse, many strategic analysts see direct superpower confrontation in the gulf as one of the most likely paths to a nuclear war.

Environmental Degradation. The environmental damage caused by the extraction, processing and consumption of energy resources is becoming another principal source of friction between nations. The United States and Canada, as well as several Western European nations, are already at odds over acid rain, which, heedless of national borders, is seriously damaging crops, buildings and public health.

Longer-term and potentially more serious a threat is the global climate warming resulting from the continuous buildup of carbon dioxide and other by-products of energy consumption. This trend threatens to diminish agricultural yields in vital grain-producing regions of the United States and the Soviet Union, while possibly expanding yields in other countries. The resulting dislocations in global food supply and trade could well pit countries around the world against each other.

The Soviet nuclear accident at Chernobyl in 1986 poignantly demonstrated the vulnerability of the global environmental commons and the potential for international repercussions. Its long-term health effects may include tens of thousands of thyroid tumors and cancer deaths across Europe and the Ukraine. In the weeks following the accident, fresh vegetables in many parts of Europe were found to be radioactive and livestock were producing contaminated milk and meat. The result was a surge of anti-Soviet sentiment, including angry reactions from European governments over the Soviets' refusal to share crucial information promptly. Several Western governments plan to try to recoup their agricultural losses from the Soviet Union, and some intend to present claims against the Soviets in the World Court at the Hague. (The Soviets say they will not accept the court's jurisdiction.)

There are numerous other examples: the blowout of British oil wells in the North Sea generated heated protests from residents of contaminated beaches in Scandinavia. A Swiss firm's contamination of the Rhine re-ignited a long-smoldering international debate over that vital waterway. In the Third World, the operation of substandard production facilities has led to industrial disasters such as the Bhopal chemical leak, fostering growing resentment toward the First World.

Vulnerability and Security. Much of modern resource infrastructure is inherently vulnerable to attack or sabotage. Energy production, refinery, and distribution systems provide tempting targets for both terrorists and adversary countries.

Historically, power plants have b critical military targets. The bombing Hitler's synfuel plants considerably sh ened the later phases of World War II; N leaders said later that early bombing their power plants would have cut the

by at least two years. American milit planners evidently learned this lesson: w ness the bombing of the Yalu River hyd electric plants in the Korean War; bombing of a Cambodian oil refinery d ing the Mayaguez incident; and the C directed attack in 1983 on a Nicaraguan terminal.

In the United States today, centraliz vulnerable supply grids make it possible a few saboteurs to cut off three-quarters the oil and gas supply of the eastern s board, without leaving Louisiana. Wor low-technology sabotage of any one of hundred-odd U.S. nuclear power stati could inflict a Chernobyl-like accident the United States. The same is true of a such station in the world. In wartime,

nerability of energy systems in Western ope might be far more decisive than any er aspect of combat: serious damage to utonium reprocessing plant in France, ain, or (as proposed) West Germany ld render most of Europe uninhabitable centuries. The collateral damage from a conventional bomb exploded on any he power reactors now operating on the th German plain could send megaton- ge fallout drifting downwind.

Nuclear power has increased vulnerabil- in an even more threatening way: its ead has given dozens of previously non- lear nations the materials, data, skills, ipment, and above all a civilian "cover" nuclear bomb-building programs, in-

asing the probability of both regional l global nuclear wars.

Energy and Economics. In a more general important way, unwise resource man- ment can reduce national security by akening a country's economic well-be- . In the United States, for example, pro- tion of synthetic fuels and nuclear wer, which rank among the most expen- e energy options, have produced only rginal returns. The Synthetic Fuels Cor- ration, which absorbed some $8 billion, er produced a single barrel of oil. Nu- ar power, despite more than $100 billion ederal subsidies, today delivers about as ch energy as wood. In agriculture the nptoms are similar: capital- and energy- ensive practices have eroded the nation's soil, contaminated or depleted much of our water, and created an unsustainably expensive farm economy.

Inefficient resource policies have had even graver consequences in the Third World. Soil erosion in Ethiopia and resultant agricultural damage contributed to conditions that led it to war with neighboring Somalia. A burgeoning population and extensive environmental degradation have destabilized the economies of Latin America and contributed to the military and political havoc in that region. While the problems of these developing nations may seem remote to the United States, together they add up to a security problem of tremendous proportions.

Alternative Policies. The links between resources and conflict have not gone unnoticed by policymakers. U.S. energy policy, for example, has focussed on developing domestic energy supplies while ensuring access to resources abroad. The government now spends about $50 billion per year in production subsidies and another $50 billion "defending" the Persian Gulf—investments that compound *all* of the problems outlined above. There are, however, workable options that can reduce all these security threats.

Investments in *energy efficiency* would reduce U.S. dependence on oil, gas, coal and nuclear power, thus decreasing exposure to foreign wars, climatic changes, domestic sabotage, nuclear accidents and nuclear proliferation. They would also result in substantial economic savings. For example, spending $50 billion in efficiency improvements could have eliminated our need for Mideast oil.

Our research at Rocky Mountain Institute shows that full use of electricity-saving technologies now on the market, such as super-efficient appliances, building elements, lights and motors, could save about five times the electricity produced by all U.S. nuclear power plants. The cost of implementing such technologies would be less than the current cost of operating those plants, with the future net savings approaching $100 billion per year.

Emphasis on efficiency would reduce vulnerability, not only by reducing reliance on grids and power plants now susceptible to attack, but also *in the event of* supply cutoffs. If sudden disruptions left automobiles dependent on the "pipeline inventory" from wellhead to gas pump, for example, a 60-miles-per-gallon car fleet could run for about a year, compared with only a few months for today's cars.

Energy efficiency policies would also help reduce insecurity by improving economic well-being. Efficiency gains since 1973 have already reduced U.S. energy payments by about $150 billion per year. If the United States were as efficient as its Western European competitors it could save an additional $200 billion a year—enough money to balance the federal budget. Systematic least-cost energy investments could save several trillions of today's dollars by the year 2000—enough, in principle, to pay off the present national debt.

These policies are not merely theoretical. Market forces have already driven the U.S. economy toward efficiency over the last decade; since 1979 the United States has obtained more than 50 times as much new energy from improved efficiency as from all net expansions of the energy supply. And more new energy has come from sun, wind, water and wood combined than from oil, gas, coal and uranium combined. Renewable sources, alleged by many to be impractical for the rest of this century, are now supplying one-tenth of the nation's primary energy. The mere increase in their annual output since 1979 exceeds the energy value of all the Mideast oil Americans use in a year. Yet this has happened with little help and not a little hindrance from federal policymakers.

Alternative resource policies have for the most part received little attention in the Pentagon and even less in the peace movement. Yet these policies offer very real possibilities for reducing our military commitments abroad while making the United

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States less vulnerable to sabotage, foreign policy crises, and economic dislocations. But until such alternatives become an integral part of peace movement strategy, peace activists will be locked into the business of responding to military proposals and will have little to say about building real security. □

Hal Harvey is director of the Security Program at Rocky Mountain Institute, in Old Snowmass, Colorado.

JOERGEN DRAGSDAHL

LESSONS FROM ABROAD

ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE HAS BEEN IN EUROPE AWHILE, AND EUROPEANS HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT IT

Will implementation of non-offensive defense policies in Europe conflict with U.S. global military posture?

The question was put to a panel of liberal U.S. arms control experts by a European journalist at a news conference during the December summit in Washington.

The moderator, Carl Sagan, looked puzzled and asked for an explanation of the term "non-offensive defense." Afterwards the issue was dismissed as an idea on the European far left without significance, and the actual question was never answered. Clearly, a stranger had come to town.

But these and other experts might soon have to familiarize themselves with the concept if negotiations on conventional reductions in Europe starting later this year are to make any headway. Non-offensive defense has for years been a subject of intensive research and hot debate in Europe. Recently some members of the U.S. arms control community have given it a closer look in their search for a way out of the deadlock that characterized earlier attempts at conventional arms control.

It is likely that public debate on upcoming negotiations will focus on ways to cut offensive weapons and change military structures in a more explicitly defensive direction. However, in NATO military circles, resistance to non-offensive defense concepts is strong; current planning is actually for a more offensive posture. As an alternative, European experts have something original to offer, possibly for the first time in NATO history.

If some confusion on alternative defense exists in the United States, it is understandable. Many different proposals have been developed at European peace research institutes and study groups under the non-offensive defense rubric. Social democratic parties and some military institutes have their own versions. But common ground can be found, thanks in part to a series of workshops held under the auspices of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs since 1984. Scientists and

military experts from East and West have presented numerous, often highly detailed papers on subjects like "Defense Potential of Video-Guided Drones" and "Alternative Defense Options for the Northeastern Italian Front." Out of this diversity, a few key concepts have crystallized.

The workshops' convener, Anders Boserup of the University of Copenhagen, describes the basic concept of non-offensive defense as stability derived from imbalance: If alliance A has a weaker offense than the defense of alliance B, and alliance B has a weaker offense than the defense of alliance A, fears of attack are greatly diminished. Boserup sees a need to develop forces for defense that cannot be confused with offensive forces. It is his belief that unless there is a perceived difference between offensive and defensive forces, attempts to achieve a balance will only lead to instability and a continuing arms race.

This basic framework has already sparked interest and debate among arms control experts. Former U.S. negotiator Jonathan Dean, who spent frustrating years in Vienna at the mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) talks and who is now at the Union of Concerned Scientists, believes that alternative defense, while appealing enough to the military leaders of either alliance to serve as the main vehicle for negotiations, nevertheless provides "some models to aim toward, some ways of visualizing how the East-West confrontation could look after a considered build-down."

Tom Etzold, former deputy head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and now at The Atlantic Council, sees the framework as a more useful way of discussing conventional force balance than the usual practice of trying to quantify those forces. Analysts at the Congressional Research Service borrowed from the concept in a recent report, "Conventional Arms Control and Military Stability in Europe," which recommended significant reductions in offense-capable forces, while allowing for improvements in strictly defensive systems. And Randall Forsberg of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, has added a distinctively peace-movement perspective to the debate with her "Case for a Third World Non-intervention Regime." She argues that only by first eliminating the superpowers' forces and disposition for intervening in the Third World can we expect those superpowers to disengage in Europe.

European advocates of non-offensive defense have welcomed this U.S. interest, saying it gives new momentum and added credibility to their arguments. Furthermore, Boserup says, "In Europe we cannot do anything constructive in the military sphere without an active U.S. role."

But Europeans have not always seen eye to eye with American proponents of non-offensive defense.

European experts generally disagree, for example, with Forsberg's views. She argues that the interest both superpowers have in maintaining forces for horizontal escalation (putting pressure on an opponent in Europe if it intervenes in the Third World) effectively blocks prospects for disengagement. But European proponents believe disengagement itself is a much more immediately feasible goal than having the superpowers foreswear intervention in the Third World. While few are opposed to a "non-intervention regime," strong political forces and the logic of arms control may

tructuring of conventional forces in Eu-
e a near-term prospect.

'In Central Europe, both superpowers
dangers of inadvertent confrontation or
ression from the other side, so they
th should be interested in minimizing the
cs," says Boserup.

Sverre Lodgaard, director of the Peace
search Institute in Oslo, also disagrees
h Forsberg's views on interventionary
ces. U.S. force projection, he argues, is a
al matter, whereas stabilizing Europe is
issue of ground forces.

Forsberg's views have had more reso-
ce in the European peace movement.
m Bartels, international secretary of the
tch Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV),
s been urging the movement to concern
lf more with Third World issues. He is
sitive to the charge that Europeans are
interested in "saving" themselves
ough regional solutions, allowing the su-
powers to free up forces for use in the
ird World.

Peace Movements. While peace research-
in Europe have been discussing alterna-
e defense for some time, the European
ace movement has done little more to
ly around the concept than has its Amer-
n counterpart. For the peace movement
either side of the Atlantic, it is easier to
bilize around a "no" than around com-
cated schemes for restructuring military
ces. As one observer puts it, peace activ-
s "regard weapons as bad and offensive
apons as worse." But the peace move-
nt in Europe is an important undercur-
nt in the debate over alternative defense.

European peace organizations tend to di-
le into two basic camps. One focuses on
apons issues and is sometimes associated
th the Soviet front organization, the
orld Peace Council, but also includes the
mpaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The
her stresses the political issues behind the
ms race and the Cold War—and the
sponsibility for these of both East and
est. It is associated with the so-called
n-aligned network behind the European
uclear Disarmament (END) conventions.

This division has become apparent
ound alternative defense. Those with a
ditional weapons orientation have been
ore interested in the outcome of negotia-
ns and defensive restructuring of mili-
y forces. After Gorbachev and the War-
w Pact took an active interest in
omoting non-offensive defense, some
ace groups became more interested in it,
o. These groups' future efforts will to
me degree depend on the way Soviet and
stern European leaders play to Western
blic opinion.

The Dutch IKV, a main force behind the other trend, stresses the significance of "detente from below"—that is, political changes that enable grassroots activists in both East and West to communicate more freely with one another. Most of IKV's international efforts are concentrated on seizing the opportunities created by *glasnost* for dialog with opposition forces in the East. IKV leader Bartels believes non-offensive defense has a role to play in creating possibilities for a new society, but says, "I'm afraid defensive defense will not demilitarize enough." Mary Kaldor, of END, stresses that military changes and political changes are inseparable: "Only demilitarization in the West will persuade the Soviet Union to pull its troops out of Eastern Europe, and only political improvements in the East will persuade the West to lower its guard."

It is clear that public opinion played a significant role during the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) negotiations. Few expect the peace movement, however, to put the same type of pressure—holding mass rallies for non-offensive defense—on decision makers during the new talks. Yet whether non-offensive defense becomes official policy depends in the final analysis on political demands overcoming military and strategic objections.

A critical catalytic role could fall to European political parties. Institutionally, they are suited to the kind of debate associated with alternative defense and complicated negotiations on conventional forces—a debate that will take place in parliaments and in the media among specialists. Ideologically, social democratic parties, especially those in Northern Europe, are receptive to alternative defense, having radicalized considerably on security issues in recent years. (Indeed, it can be argued that the mass movements of the early 1980s disappeared because they were absorbed by social democratic and further-left parties.) The labor parties of Germany, Britain and Denmark all have made non-offensive defense part of their party platforms. The interest of other North European parties is also strong.

But representatives of political parties will make their best efforts if an alert grassroots movement is also striving in the same direction. At a recent END coordinating meeting in Lund, Sweden, activists decided that since non-offensive defense is now part of the political process in Europe, it must be included in the agenda for the next END convention.

As interest in alternative defense grows, and efforts of political parties and grassroots activists begin to coordinate, there is also a need for cooperation across the Atlantic. Advocating unilateral U.S. troop withdrawal is no longer helpful. The importance of creating a strong European voice in NATO was once broadly stressed, with social democrats advocating "U.S. out of NATO." But attitudes have changed since conservative forces have taken up the battle cry for a "strong Europe." This conservative vision of a more independent Europe means cooperative arms production, larger military forces and strengthened nuclear deterrence—a vision that is nurtured by fears of U.S. withdrawal.

Bartels, of IKV, believes some U.S. withdrawals will occur, but says the possibility must be used as a political tool to get Soviet troops out of Eastern Europe. "I am opposed to unilateral U.S. withdrawal," he states flatly, adding it would be doubly unfortunate if such withdrawal were undertaken out of isolationist motives. Boserup, who calls demands for U.S. withdrawal "old-fashioned left-wing thinking," says the problem is not U.S. engagement in Europe, but making the United States part of a process of detente and disarmament.

This is where the challenge lies. And non-offensive defense may offer the technical and intellectual tools—for both sides of the Atlantic—to achieve an orderly disengagement and greater security. □

Joergen Dragsdahl is foreign news editor of Information, *a Danish newspaper.*

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RESEARCH & ANALYSIS/RONALD POWASKI

REAGAN AND START

NEGOTIATIONS ON 50 PERCENT CUTS IN NUCLEAR ARSENALS HAVE BEEN STOP AND GO FOR SIX YEARS

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Seven years after entering the White House, President Reagan concluded an INF Treaty with the Soviet Union. There is a possibility, even if it is remote, that Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev could reach an agreement on Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START) before Reagan leaves office. But despite its acronym's connotation, START, which could reduce superpower nuclear arsenals by as much as 50 percent, has been a stop-and-go affair.

Reagan and "Re-armament." In 1981 Reagan was the first president since Harry Truman to doubt publicly the worth of nuclear arms control agreements. Paraphrasing Lenin, Reagan asserted that the Soviets consider treaties to be like "pie crust—made to be broken." The SALT treaties, Reagan charged, had given the Soviet Union an unfair advantage in nuclear weapons, particularly in the number and throw-weight (lifting) capacity of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). As a result, he asserted, the United States had become vulnerable to a Soviet first strike, the so-called "window of vulnerability."

Reagan argued that any new negotiations must not only eradicate the Soviet advantages, but must also produce major reductions in the number of nuclear warheads and delivery systems both sides deployed. Accordingly, Reagan warmly accepted the suggestion that SALT be renamed START. Since the Soviets had rejected a similar proposal for deep cuts early in the Carter administration, it is doubtful that Reagan's early desire for major arms reductions was sincere. More likely, his proposal was intended to put the Soviets on the spot.

One thing, however, was certain: Reagan was not going to allow START to interfere with a major buildup of U.S. nuclear forces. The Soviets, he insisted, would not be willing to reduce the nuclear arsenal until the United States had "re-armed." During his first term, Reagan doubled defense spending and revived nuclear weapons systems such as the B-1 bomber, which had been shelved by his predecessor Jimmy Carter. He also approved the deployment of the MX ICBM, the Trident sea-launched ballistic missile (SLBM), and air- and sea-launched cruise missiles. Moreover, Reagan accelerated the development of new systems, such as the "Star Wars" ballistic missile defense (BMD), as well as anti-satellite weapons (ASAT).

The Nuclear Freeze. The administration's nuclear buildup, combined with Reagan's harsh rhetoric toward the Soviet Union, and his failure to make arms control talks the major priority of his first admini tion, did much to fan both American European fears of a nuclear war. "Nev my 35 years of public service have I be afraid of nuclear war," former ambass George Kennan said in 1982.

The nuclear war scare gave an enorm boost to the nuclear freeze movemen 1982 a nuclear freeze resolution, jo sponsored by Sens. Edward Kennedy Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), as as 17 other senators and 122 repre tatives, called upon the superpowers t gotiate an agreement halting the tes production and further deployment o clear arms as a prelude to a treaty provi for mutual and verifiable reduction of tegic nuclear weapons.

To save his nuclear arms program Congress, Reagan adroitly backed an e culated nuclear freeze resolution i duced in the House by Rep. Wil Broomfield (R-Mich.). It called for a clear weapon freeze at "equal and subs tially reduced levels." In effect, this m that a freeze could only occur after Soviets had agreed to massive reductio the size of their nuclear arsenal. Altho passage of the Broomfield resolution not satisfy most freeze advocates, it help to impress upon the administra the need to begin talks with the Soviet

The Eureka Proposal. It was not until 1982—more than a year after Reagan tered the White House—that he made first START offer. In a speech at Eu College, in California, Reagan propo that each side reduce the number o strategic ballistic missiles to an equal l of 850. The proposal also called for e side to cut the number of their warh on strategic missiles to 5,000, only 2,50 which could be deployed on ICB Moreover, the Eureka proposal trie equalize throw-weight levels at a ceilin four million pounds.

The Soviets flatly rejected Reagan's reka proposal. Although the size of proposed reductions would h amounted to roughly one-half of the 1 delivery vehicles in the U.S. inventor would have required almost a two-th reduction in the Soviet force of 2 launchers. And the proposed reductio

-based ICBM warheads to no more 2,500 also would have favored the ed States. At the time, the U.S. arsenal 350 warheads below the proposed ceil- while the Soviet arsenal was roughly) warheads above it. This was a result ie Soviet decision to deploy about 70 ent of its nuclear deterrent on ICBMs, pared with about 25 percent for the ed States.

oreover, by excluding bombers and e missiles, the Eureka proposal pro- d two other areas of American advan- —bombers and cruise missiles. U.S. egic bombers at the time carried about 0 nuclear weapons compared with less 300 for the Soviets. U.S. cruise missile oyment was to begin in 1982, well in nce of the Soviet program. And finally, proposed throw-weight ceiling of four on pounds would have compelled a h greater reduction by the Soviets, se throw-weight totalled 11.2 million nds, compared with only 4.2 million he United States.

he initial Soviet START proposal, e in mid-1982, was probably very simi- o what the Soviets would have offered ALT III, had the SALT II treaty been ied. It called for a freeze in all new oyments, followed by reductions to a l of 1,800 strategic nuclear delivery ve- es. Unlike the U.S. proposal, however, so included limitations on bombers and se missiles.

he Reagan administration rejected the iet offer, not only because it would e prevented the deployment of the new pons systems the administration had roved, but because it would have pre- ed the SALT unit of measure—launch- —rather than warheads. In addition, it le no provision for reducing throw- ght levels. Further, it was contingent on cancellation of planned deployments in stern Europe of U.S. intermediate- ge, Pershing II ballistic and Tomahawk se missiles. With the United States ut to begin deployment of the first nahawks, the Soviets, in November 3, walked out of both the INF talks and RT.

bout-Face. A number of developments 984 helped to break the stalemate in arms talks prompted by the Soviet kout at Geneva. One was the 1984 sidential election campaign. Walter ndale, the Democratic nominee, prom- that he would resume the START talks hin six months of his inauguration. Dur- the interval, he promised to freeze U.S. lear weapon deployments as an incen- for the Soviets to follow suit.

Congress augmented Mondale's pressure on the administration. The Senate refused to appropriate additional money for ASAT development until Reagan certified that he was trying to negotiate an agreement limiting such weapons. It also passed a resolution calling on him to attempt to gain ratification of two unratified, partial test-ban treaties—the Threshold Test Ban treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions treaty—and to resume negotiations for a comprehensive test ban agreement. Partly as a way of prompting greater administration flexibility in START, both houses also voted to postpone approval for the deployment of all the 100 MX ICBMs Reagan wanted. (It subsequently voted to deploy only 50 MX missiles.)

In June 1984, the Soviets supplemented the pressure on the administration by proposing talks on ways to ban the militarization of outer space. The Soviets suggested a joint moratorium on all ASAT and BMD tests while negotiations to ban them were in progress.

The following September, in what was an astute move to offset this pressure as election day approached, Reagan proposed combining the various arms control talks—covering INF as well as both defensive and offensive strategic weapons—under one "umbrella." After Reagan's re-election victory in November, the Soviets accepted his offer, and the new, combined talks began in Geneva in 1985.

The Geneva Talks. After almost two years of talks at Geneva, in which both sides displayed new flexibility, Reagan and Gorbachev, the new Soviet general secretary, reached a tentative agreement at the Reykjavik summit in October 1986. It called for major reductions in strategic, offensive nuclear weapons—specifically, a ceiling for each side of 1,600 delivery vehicles carrying no more than 6,000 warheads, the withdrawal of all intermediate-range missiles from Europe, the reduction of INF warheads to 100 for each nation and resumption of the comprehensive test ban talks. However, the agreement broke down when Gorbachev insisted that the United States pledge that it would abide for 10 years to a strict interpretation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

The ABM Treaty obliges its parties "not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, *space*-based, or mobile land-based" [emphasis added]. Gorbachev insisted that there be no testing and development of BMD, and that research be confined to the laboratory. Reagan expressed a willingness to abide by the ABM Treaty for another seven years. But he favored a much looser interpretation of the treaty than Gorbachev, one that would allow extensive testing of BMD outside the laboratory. The Soviet interpretation, Reagan said, would kill Star Wars.

The Washington Summit. During 1987 both sides skirted the ABM-START imbroglio and concentrated on concluding an INF agreement, one that would prohibit the deployment of all intermediate-range missiles and their warheads. After accomplishing this goal at the Washington summit in December, both leaders could reemphasize START.

Reagan and Gorbachev apparently made considerable progress in START in Washington. They accepted, within the ceiling of 6,000 strategic warheads, a sub-ceiling of 4,900 warheads on ballistic missiles. The Soviets also agreed to cut in half the number of their "heavy" ICBMs—to 154, carrying no more than 1,540 warheads—and accepted a 50 percent reduction in the throw-weight capacity of the remaining Soviet ICBMs and SLBMs. The United States, for its part, accepted the inclusion of sea-launched cruise missiles in the agreement. And both sides agreed to incorporate into the final agreement intensive verification provisions based on those contained in the INF Treaty. The Soviets, however, refused to accept a ceiling of 3,300 warheads on land-based missiles until the United States agreed to the same numerical ceiling on SLBM warheads, a condition Reagan has rejected.

But BMD limits remained the major stumbling block to an agreement. Reagan offered Gorbachev an agreement that would have affirmed the administration's right to proceed aggressively with its Star Wars program, including testing in space and, eventually, the deployment of space-based weapons. But Gorbachev again insisted on continued observance by both parties of a strict interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

However, in order to prevent the dispute on the ABM Treaty from upsetting continued progress in START, a joint statement at the conclusion of the summit stated that each side could carry out testing that it thought was "required" under the terms of the treaty. But the agreed statement also maintained that "each side will be free to decide its course of action" should either eventually deploy BMDs in space. Reagan, mistakenly, took this to mean that the Soviets had finally accepted the administration's Star Wars program. But the Soviets subsequently and emphatically stated that what they meant was that they would take necessary countermeasures—including their own BMD deployments—if the United States deployed Star Wars.

Considering the problems the Star Wars program has encountered, and probably will continue to experience in the next decade—including, among others, laser technology that is still in the embryonic stage, insufficient numbers of launch vehicles (particularly in the wake of the Challenger tragedy), inadequate congressional funding, and the Senate's determination to uphold the traditional, strict interpretation of the ABM Treaty—the next administration may decide to compromise with the Soviets on mutually acceptable BMD research and concentrate on the more important, and feasible goal of reducing substantially the number of Soviet strategic nuclear warheads aimed at the United States. □

Ronald Powaski is author of March to Armageddon: The United States and the Nuclear Arms Race, 1939 to Present *(Oxford University Press, 1987). He teaches advanced placement history at Euclid Senior High School in Euclid, Ohio.*

R & A/ROBERT SCHAEFFER

ASIAN ARMS RACE

REPORT URGES INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO STOP ARMS RACE BEFORE IT STARTS

India and Pakistan have fought three major conventional wars since 1947. In 1974 India tested its first atomic bomb and now, by most accounts, Pakistan is capable of doing the same. "This is a critical period for both countries," says Leonard Spector, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment in Washington, D.C. "They are at the opening stage of a potentially grave nuclear arms race."

Because the Indo-Pakistani arms race is still in its infancy, Spector thinks that it is "at a point where we can arrest it at a benign stage."

To forestall a nuclear arms race in the Asian subcontinent, Spector last year formed a bipartisan task force on nonproliferation and South Asian security, which in January issued a report recommending a series of measures to reduce the risk of regional nuclear war. Recognizing that both countries have a "rudimentary nuclear capability that neither side is going to abandon," Spector says the goal of the task force was to find ways to "freeze the status quo."

In the report, *Nuclear Weapons and South Asian Security* (Carnegie Endowment, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036), the task force urges India and Pakistan to negotiate a formal reciprocal ban on nuclear tests, inspections of key nuclear facilities and a shutdown of nuclear weapons-material plants, and the formalization of a 1985 understanding between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Huq not to launch attacks against each other's nuclear installations.

Spector says the task force does not think negotiations should be left to Indian and Pakistani initiative, but instead urges the United States, the Soviet Union and China to take a series of coordinated diplomatic actions "to limit both countries' nuclear programs and to improve Indo-Pakistani bilateral relations more broadly."

The task force urges the superpowers collectively to toughen sanctions against nuclear testing; enforce nuclear export controls and prohibit the sale of advanced, dual-capable aircraft, which can be used to deliver nuclear weapons; and pursue superpower arms control to demonstrate their good faith to nuclear-weapons-seeking states. It also proposes that each superpower take unilateral steps to reduce regional tensions: China should assuage Indian fears about the Chinese nuclear threat and stop Chinese nuclear assistance to Pakistan; the Soviet Union should allay Pakistani fears about war in Afghanistan and prevent India, the U.S.S.R.'s ally in the region, from seeking the kind of military superiority that would threaten Pakistan; and the United States should "avoid actions that will unnecessarily exacerbate Indian anxieties" and rule out the sale to Pakistan of heavy tanks and anti-ship missiles that could be used in a war against India. These recommendations were based on a careful study of the history of conflict in the region, which the task force explored in some detail in the report.

The report is distinctive in two respects. First, it advances a multilateral, multinational approach to regional conflict resolution. It is an approach well suited to conflict in the subcontinent, but also to potential nuclear conflicts elsewhere, such as the Middle East, where bilateral peacemaking initiatives have excluded parties on whom the successful implementation of any comprehensive peacemaking effort depends. "The notion that outsiders have a stake in these negotiations and have a right to influence other countries is a rea Spector says.

Second, the group's conclusions b with assumptions about the efficacy o clear deterrence. Spector says many n bers of the group expressed "discon with [U.S.-Soviet] deterrence theory." discomfort became more pronounce the context of Indo-Pakistani nuclea valry. A deterrence regime, like that w exists between the United States and Soviet Union, would be difficult if not possible for the Indians and Pakistan achieve. "If both sides went whole hog a credible deterrent], India would out tance Pakistan and leave Pakistan a enormous disadvantage," Spector says

This report might be seen as an inte ing but pointless exercise by armchair demics if it could not find some poli support for its recommendations in continent and superpower capitals. Spe says the report is likely to find some port in Pakistan and in Washington. P stan has already proposed a bilateral clear test ban. And in Washington, Spe says officials in the National Sec Council and the State Department have pressed interest in the report. "They un stand that the United States cannot b geon Pakistan into submission [pre them from acquiring nuclear weapons] cause we don't have an effective b geon," Spector says.

The ineffective "bludgeon" he refer is U.S. aid to Pakistan, which Cong threatened to cut off after Pakistan reported to have developed nuclear w ons but which was recently approved n theless [see "Join the Club" by G Aronson, *Nuclear Times*, January/Fe ary 1988, page 12]. Officials in the Rea administration and in Congress, Spe says, "are looking for another instrume perhaps a diplomatic initiative of the outlined in the report.

Because he thinks that proliferation one of the major arms control issues of '80s," Spector expresses hope that the peace movement will lend its suppor the task force recommendations. It wo be "genuinely helpful," he said, if the pe movement urged Congress to prevent sale to Pakistan of destabilizing weap systems (heavy tanks, ship-killing mis and dual-capable aircraft), lobby Ro Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev to put Indo-Pakistani arms race on the agenda the upcoming summit, and pressure p dential candidates to address the issu regional arms control. Because so little tention is paid to proliferation, "anyt the peace movement does," Spector s "would be doing a lot."

ır game "casualty": He may be a hero, but in a real war he would have been dead.

ME/Continued from page 23

nore players like them.
elt, after playing, that a war game has same basic psychological pull as soft- football or basketball, but at a height- l intensity. There is the chance for per- l heroics; there is the test of nerve and ; there is the thrill of action. Several ers told me, in words to this effect: "I so alive when I play. Exhilarated. hing can top it."

hose pulls are present in real war, too. Broyles, Vietnam was an experience through with adrenaline. Playing at clearly is not the same as going to war. he games do bring on the acute high of nstinctive fight-flight reaction.

etnam Revisited. D. Keith Mano, a war- e enthusiast and writer for the *Na- al Review*, has tried to make the con- ion between the popularity of war es and the lost opportunities of the nam War, suggesting that the game can weekend ticket to the war we chose to or were too young to fight: "The game etrospective stab at understanding—in l, in sweat, in person—what was meant Vietnam."

id those of us who did not go to Viet- miss out on an experience we secretly had been ours? Christopher Buckley, a nalist and former Reagan administra- speechwriter, evaded the Vietnam t with a medical excuse and, years later, te that he was filled with envy of those had gone. Perhaps by staying home, vrote, "we forfeited what might have the ultimate opportunity."

one of the players I interviewed made this connection, not directly anyway, but several said they gladly would have volunteered for the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada, which, they also said, was a far better illustration than Vietnam or even World War II of a "good" war. They recommended that I see the movie, *Heartbreak Ridge*, in which Clint Eastwood plays a Marine old-timer who served in Korea and Vietnam and is told his scorecard reads, "0-1-1" (no victories, one tie in Korea, and one defeat in Vietnam). Months shy of retirement he is sent to Grenada. In the film's final scene, as a parade band strikes up, he congratulates himself, "I'm 1-1-1."

Hero in a Box. No doubt that, compared with the drawn-out violence of the Vietnam War, the quicksilver invasion of Grenada did have the feel of a game for some of its American participants. But it is when war is seen up close and over long periods of time that its horrors begin to shift the balance away from fun and glory. "I miss [war] because I loved it," Broyles wrote, *but* "I've seen enough of war to know that I never want to fight again, and that I would do everything in my power to keep my son from fighting."

The anguish of real war is known to everyone who has seen death. Yet, after centuries of wars brought home to soldier and civilian alike, we still fight them.

In one war game, I finished gloriously: outnumbered and caught out of position, I walked brazenly into the open. I fired one shot after another and drew the enemy fire. Two of my teammates worked their way cannily around the shooting and seized the flag. We won, and I was the hero. But in a real war, I was also dead. □

How to Play

Anyone who has ever played capture the flag or tag will recognize the two basic war games currently played by adults.

In the game based on capture the flag, two teams of players attempt to be the first to seize a piece of cloth on neutral ground and carry it through enemy lines to an agreed-upon location. Expulsion from the game comes when a plastic bullet filled with paint—usually red—hits and breaks on a player, simulating a fatal wound. Serious injuries are rare, but getting hit can raise welts and hurts enough to encourage caution in the next game. Goggles are recommended and often mandatory.

The game is played outdoors on bounded fields with the natural cover of woodlands, mountains, or swamps or with fortifications of wood, metal or plastic. A single game can take from 20 minutes to two or three hours. In the wild, players often dress in camouflage fatigues and paint their cheeks, foreheads and hands green and brown. Weapons look like .45 caliber pistols or sawed-off automatic rifles, but use carbon dioxide cartridges to fire the pellets.

Charles Gaines, author of *Pumping Iron*, and a group of friends are credited with originating the game in 1976. Today there are an estimated 500 game operators who, for one-day fees of $20 to $40, supply both equipment and a playing field.

The tag-based game is simpler and can be played in cities, inside as well as outdoors. Players shoot guns that fire a laser-like light at bull's-eye targets on their chests, activating a beep.

Several toy manufacturers sell kits with guns and targets, of which the best known is probably Laser Tag. Most of the guns are futuristic, but others bear a strong resemblance to real weapons.

The tag game is faster paced and usually shorter in duration than capture the flag. It poses almost no physical risk to the players, except, as happened last summer in California, when the light-firing guns are mistaken for the real thing; in that case, a Los Angeles police officer accidentally killed a young player on the street. Since then Los Angeles and several nearby cities have banned the sale of replica toy weapons [see "War on War Toys Heats Up," *Nuclear Times* Jan./Feb. 1988]. —*H.K.*

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RESOURCES

Books

Gorbachev *by Zhores A. Medvedev ($15.95, 246 pages, W.W. Norton, 1986);* **Economic Reform in the Age of High Technology: Gorbachev's Challenge,** *by Marshall I. Goldman ($16.95, 262 pages, W.W. Norton, 1987).* Zhores Medvedev describes how Mikhail Gorbachev rose through the Soviet bureaucracy and was named general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. He examines Gorbachev's activities, accomplishments and failures in his first year in office and discusses how Gorbachev consolidated power and installed a new generation of party members in government offices. Medvedev approves of Gorbachev's anti-alcoholism and anti-corruption campaigns, but criticizes his policy in Afghanistan.

Economic Reform is an excellent complement to Medvedev's book. Goldman reviews Soviet history as a background to his summary of the obstacles facing Gorbachev's campaign for revamping the Soviet economy, or *perestroika*. Goldman looks at past reforms and compares them with Gorbachev's current efforts. He examines how the search for certain high technologies has affected and threatened Communist Party control over Soviet citizens. Goldman explains that while technology for space and nuclear weapons programs has advanced, technology that would improve the Soviet telephone system has not been developed. Innovation is hindered by the planned economy, which discourages managers from taking risks for fear their quotas will not be met. Goldman also criticizes the Soviet affinity for secrecy that discourages the use of photocopiers and computers. He says that Gorbachev has apparently realized that the Soviets must develop the use of these technologies. To catch up with the West in many areas of technology, the Soviets will have to try to obtain much of it from the West. But this kind of technology transfer requires friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Goldman compares Soviet reform efforts with the Chinese and Hungarian efforts and explains why reform in the Soviet Union is more difficult than in either of the two countries. It will be difficult fo Soviets to develop market mechanisr distribute goods or allow the private s to develop because the Soviet bureau will not want to depart from Stalinist tral planning. Goldman thinks that th viets are more likely to adopt the East man model of economic develop because it is more ideologically cor ible.

Both Medvedev and Goldman ar timistic about Gorbachev, altho Medvedev's book, written only a time after Gorbachev became genera retary, is a bit more skeptical Goldman's. Medvedev criticizes the nant bureaucracy and encour Gorbachev to take greater steps towar eralization. Goldman acknowledges obstacles, but feels that Gorbachev successfully overcome them.

—Lori Pe

Low Intensity Warfare *by Michael and Peter Kornbluh, editors ($8.95, pages, Pantheon, 1988).* Pentagon pla have come to believe that specialized tary forces trained in "low intensity fare" can be used to wage successful in lar wars against guerrilla movements socialist states in the Third World. Th thors of this excellent little volume scribe the development of counter- pro-insurgency campaigns in Vietnar Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippines Afghanistan. They discuss the failure o approach in Vietnam and its subseq rehabilitation in the 1980s, and criticiz attempt to substitute specialized a forces—Green Berets and contras- diplomatic initiatives that address the litical and economic problems under conflict in the Third World.

—Robert Sch

Newsletters

The Harriman Institute Forum, *420 118th St., New York, NY 10027.* The issue features an excellent piece "Gorbachev's New Approach to Cor tional Arms Control" by Robert Lev Must reading for those interested in rope after INF.

NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT

SANE/FREEZE

veen Co-optation Cop-Out

November 1987 issue, *The Progres-* published the following editorial:

e U.S. peace movement is in disarray. ider this: Representatives of U.S. groups have offered their services to eagan administration.

aders of [these groups] sat down with e House officials in May to discuss of working together to ensure pas- of the [INF proposal] Nuclear Times *./Oct.] reported.*

. The proposed INF agreement is of ous value .... What's more, the ad- stration threatens world peace every with its Star Wars development, its rch into biological warfare, and its ventions around the globe.

e peace movement should not make non cause with the Reagan adminis- on, for there is nothing in common.

ese peace groups have fallen into the ing trap that ensnares so many radi- auses that set up shop in Washington [I]n exchange for the slenderest piece e action, [such] groups willingly sur- r principle and power.

e place for peace activism is outside rridors of the Capitol ....

bert Musil, SANE/FREEZE communi- ns director, responds: Our old friends *he Progressive* roundly criticize the movement for supporting the INF y and for being corrupted by whiffs of ington power. The proper place for activists, they scold, is at the grass- . Fair enough.

t to Cleveland. Cleveland hasn't been wer center since Jim Brown hung up number 32. It's even hard to hold a r lunch there. Yet more than 1,000 activists packed the Bond Court Ho- st November to vote on the official er of SANE and the Nuclear Freeze o set a new agenda.

hat emerged as the highest priority? guessed it: ratification of the INF y. Civil disobedients from American Test, Hispanic defense workers from ornia, movement intellectuals from

Randy Forsberg at the national congress in Cleveland: We have to do the dirty work.

Boston and Amherst—all concurred that the first agreement ever to dismantle nuclear missiles must be carried out, and that any attempts to use it to achieve a conventional forces buildup must be blocked.

The freeze movement was built around the idea of a simple first step that could be widely supported. The purity of *The Progressive* can sustain an editorial page; it cannot long sustain an organized movement. Something must mediate between a vision of total disarmament and the pull toward excessive pragmatism that *The Progressive* rightly sniffs.

That something may be what Randy Forsberg calls "getting your hands dirty." Forsberg, head of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Brookline, Massachussetts, addressed the first SANE/FREEZE National Congress in a plenary speech that combined vision with pragmatism. In her own way, she was scolding the movement, too. Dressed in a brilliant blue suit that could pass on Capitol Hill or CBS, Forsberg called for disarmament while challenging the purist approach.

"We have to do the dirty work—the get-your-hands-dirty part of the problem," she said to applause. "In studying the military, it won't suffice to stand back and just reject it: 'War is bad and we will have nothing to do with it.' That is a failure of responsibility, a failure of power, a failure to reach out to middle America."

What Forsberg was talking about is something called alternative defense policy, an unwieldy term for a set of midterm policies on nuclear and conventional forces that the peace movement is beginning to promote. The Freeze, the comprehensive test ban and the INF Treaty have always been proposed as mere first steps, with further steps to be announced. But in the absence of carefully spelled-out additional proposals, the media, Congress, and the establishment have conveniently presumed that first steps are all the movement wants. Meanwhile, the purists have simply turned up the volume of their clarion calls for total disarmament. Does anything lie between co-optation and cop-out?

To get to disarmament, Forsberg told activists, "You have to understand things like FOFA, which is Pentagonese for 'follow-on forces attack.'" If there is war in Europe, she explained, plans are not for hitting front-line forces, but those that follow. "That means bombing Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. According to this idea, the best defense of NATO is through offensive long-range attack aircraft." What the peace movement should be proposing instead, she said, are purely defensive measures, like short-range anti-

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aircraft missiles—for both sides.

People who would not be caught dead at a Pentagon briefing applauded Forsberg. Perhaps they were weary of the movement's own war between pragmatists and purists. They seemed instead to endorse her view of the fertile middle-ground that is alternative defense policy: "Let us not see it as joining hands with the military, but as reasoned steps to bridge the gap between the world we live in and the world we want to create."

Highlights of Randall Forsberg's speech at the founding SANE/FREEZE *Congress are available on videotape for $14.95 from* SANE/FREEZE, *711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.*

ESR

Philly Chapter Turns Five

It was in the fall of 1982 that a group of 30 people gathered in the living room of a Philadelphia high school teacher and started an ESR chapter that grew to 100 members within its first year. Today Philadelphia/ESR boasts 400 members and supporters, a full-time and a part-time staffer, and an annual budget of $50,000.

Steven Weimar, executive director, credits the chapter's growth to three streng the dedication of volunteers, coopera with like-minded organizations, and grams growing directly out of meml interests and expertise.

During their first year, Weimar and P Paul, current president of Philadelp ESR, spent their time working to crea strong local organization. Paul launch major outreach effort that brought 5 100 people to the young chapter's meetings. Working out of a space in P apartment, Weimar raised funds and o nized full time—without a salary.

Today the chapter shares space with other organizations in an office mana by Professional Organizations for Nuc Arms Control (PRONAC). The groups pay monthly dues based on their an budgets to support combined overh and the salaries of three administra "We obviously wouldn't make it with PRONAC," says Weimar.

Chapter programs have included:

- The Children's Collection, a librar young people's writings, artwork and corded conversation that documents experience of the nuclear age;
- A public lecture and workshop s featuring lectures on topical issues, lowed by workshops for teachers want to use the issues in class;
- The Education and Armed Serv Project, in which ESR members work high school teachers counseling stud about careers in the armed forces;
- A professional development prog that has held more than 50 workshop nuclear age issues for teachers and par across the country.

This year, Philadelphia/ESR's focus be on the question of participation: "H can you teach in such a way that kids come out of your class feeling they can will make a difference in their lives?" ESR Fifth Anniversary Conference spring will tackle this subject.

As ESR celebrates its own fifth anni sary as a national organization, it sal Philadelphia/ESR and every ESR cha in the United States and Canada—all d cated to meeting the challenges of the clear age in the classroom.

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AFSC

Europe Watch

The signing of the INF Treaty is only portent of likely change in NATO. Eu has become less central to the United S

n the past. Trade with Pacific Rim
is exceeds trade with Europe. Indeed,
nomic terms, Western Europe is a
competitor whose interests often di-
from those of the United States.
budget deficits make cuts in U.S.
ntional forces in Europe likely. Many
ngress feel that a politically and eco-
ally strong Europe needs less U.S.
ry support than in the past.

se were the conclusions of a special
ar and meeting of the International
Communication and Coordination
r (IPCC) held in Brussels last October
attended by AFSC staffer Bruce
rd. (IPCC was established in 1981 to
ate cooperation between non-aligned
rn European peace movements.) Par-
its in the seminar heard from govern-
spokesmen representing a range of
al views. All agreed on the above
, and all expect that Western Euro-
nations will move toward closer mili-
operation with each other and away
dependence on the United States.

ortunately, these developments will
cessarily mean a less militarized Eu-
Most European governments are dis-
g "modernization" of British and
h nuclear arsenals and increases in
ntional forces. All feel threatened by
ively deployed Warsaw Pact forces;
elief that the Soviets have a massive
tage in the conventional arena is not
d to the United States.

C leaders challenged government
smen, urging them to test expressions
viet interest in reducing conventional
ll as tactical nuclear) forces in Eu-
While harboring no illusions about
al democracy in the Eastern bloc,
European activists believe that a his-
pportunity for disarmament and de-
has been created by the new Soviet
ship. They believe Gorbachev's de-
o devote his nation's resources to
cturing the domestic economy makes
n expensive conventional forces very
tive.

opeans also recognize that major re-
ns in Soviet conventional forces in
e would have serious implications
relations with Eastern Europe. Mas-
oviet forces have been deployed in
n Europe as much to keep these na-
under tight control as to defend
t a NATO attack. Withdrawal of
forces would weaken Soviet control
Eastern Europe and open space for
cratic reform movements.

se are only possibilities. To bring
conventional and further nuclear dis-
nent, wind down the Cold War, and
the healing of a divided Europe,
NATO governments must respond boldly and creatively to Soviet initiatives and interests. In order to develop trans-Atlantic peace movement strategies to exploit these opportunities, IPCC has asked AFSC to host an IPCC meeting in the United States in the fall of 1988 or winter of 1989. AFSC is making plans for this meeting.

For a full report of the October 1987 IPCC meeting, send $1.00 to American Friends Service Committee Disarmament Program, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7171.

PSR Past President Jack Geiger

PSR

Prescribing a Broader Vision of National Security

"We count lives, not bombs."

That was how Dr. Jack Geiger, past president of PSR, summed up the group's views on the INF Treaty and the prospects for future nuclear weapons reductions in a recent appearance on CBS's *Nightwatch*.

PSR's Board of Directors stated the position more formally in a December 1987 resolution: "A major part of PSR's program activity for the next year will be focused on furthering the prevention of nuclear war through the articulation and advocacy of a new vision of national security. As physicians, our vision will emphasize the importance to national security of a healthy people and a strong, productive economy, and the dangers to national security that lie in large stockpiles of nuclear weapons, continued nuclear testing and investment in the Strategic Defense Initiative. Our most immediate goals in this campaign will be support of the INF agreement and of proposals for the deepest possible cuts in strategic nuclear arms."

Asked on *Nightwatch* how he would redefine the idea of national security in a post-INF world, Geiger said, "First of all, a healthy economy; secondly, a healthy people; thirdly, a people that is adequately educated and housed and has reasonable health care." While most Americans understand national security to include maintaining an adequate military force, he argued, "that is substantially less in both weapons terms and dollar terms than we have been doing in the last eight years."

The "national security" theme provides a prism through which PSR will focus all its major programs—at both the national and chapter levels—in 1988. It also offers guidance in the selection of specific campaigns PSR members can work on for prompt results on issues that make a difference. For 1988, these issues are ratification of an unamended INF Treaty and rapid negotiation of deep reductions in strategic nuclear weapons; followed by passage of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and an agreement to ban space-based weapons systems.

"People are going to have some tendency to feel relieved" in the wake of an INF agreement, Geiger told the *Nightwatch* audience, "but what they're being relieved about is a change in atmosphere, rather than a reduction in the number of weapons that threaten us." PSR's main task in the year to come is to keep public attention on the undiminished threat of nuclear war and on the steps that need to be taken next in a world that has finally begun to anticipate the prospect of making itself nuclear weapons-free.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.

Coalition

Beyond Containment

At its November 1987 board meeting, the 60 national member organizations of the Coalition debated and unanimously approved a new effort to move the progressive foreign policy community forward in the face of opportunities presented by the electoral season and recent challenges to U.S. foreign policy. The project, called the "Beyond Containment Project," is predicated on the Coalition's view that the elections provide a unique opportunity to examine and debate the foundations of current U.S. foreign policy.

The project will have three basic stages:

- Discussion—through working papers, forums, and the media—of the history of U.S. containment policy, its global impact

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and its effects on U.S. domestic life; and of alternatives to containment.

- A national "Beyond Containment Conference" in May in Washington, bringing together leaders from the peace, human rights, and development communities to reach a common understanding of containment and to develop more effective approaches to challenging its premises.
- Promotion of the critique of containment and alternative policy ideas to the broader public, through media work and by working with delegates who will attend the upcoming party conventions.

If successful, the "Beyond Containment Project" will challenge the ideological foundation of U.S. foreign policy and demonstrate the historical ramifications of pursuing containment policy in different parts of the world and within our own nation. It will generate public controversy and discussion and allow us to use new opportunities, such as the signing of the INF accords, to stimulate deeper challenges to U.S. foreign policy.

For more information, contact the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-8400.

WAND

Women's Work That's Never Done

In the wake of INF negotiations—and with the presidential election season in full swing—WAND members are gearing up for what Political Director Nancy Donaldson calls a "period of transition."

"We've moved from arms control to arms reduction," she says. "WAND is committed to being active in this process while continuing to seek new solutions to the . . . nuclear arms race."

WAND's goal is to translate citizens' efforts for peace into actual policy changes, a mandate that has thrust its members into legislative and electoral politics. The organization's top priorities in 1988 include: electing a president and Congress who will advance nuclear disarmament; working for ratification of the INF Treaty and for other arms-control legislation; and contributing to grassroots discussion of alternatives for real national security.

WAND's electoral work ranges from involvement in the delegate-selection process for the national party conventions, to conducting political skills training workshops around the country, to organizing affiliates to work on local congressional campaigns.

WAND PAC, the group's political action committee, has been reviewing candidates' voting records and positions and be endorsing candidates in key House Senate races. WAND PAC is also ur WAND members around the countr get involved in campaigns, of both De cratic and Republican candidates.

In the legislative arena, WAND is fo ing its efforts on Senate ratification of INF Treaty, legislation banning the tes of nuclear weapons, reductions in mili spending, preserving the ABM Treaty visions, and stopping further developn of SDI. WAND is marshalling forces b in Washington and at the local level.

"We assist women in developing skills they need to become citizen lob ists," says Suzy Kerr, WAND legisla field director. "They turn their beliefs action by writing, calling and meeting members of Congress on matters of tional security policy. The mutual inforcement of WAND's direct lobb on Capitol Hill with grassroots lobbyin constituents is a powerful combinatior

Besides the work on elections and Congress, WAND is also hoping in 198 influence the intellectual backdrop to icy making. "We are not satisfied with parameters of the current national secu debate," says Donaldson.

To influence that debate, WAND joined efforts with Randall Forsberg's stitute for Defense and Disarmament St ies (IDDS) and its Alternative Defense N work (ADN) to explore new trends national security thinking. In conjunct with ADN, WAND members are exan ing alternatives to the current U.S. plans more interchangeable nuclear and conv tional weapons, modernization, and co terforce strategies.

"WAND believes that we must seek credible concepts of alternative defen says Donaldson, "that do not rely u increasingly usable nuclear weapons."

For more information, contact: Wo en's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Massachussetts Ave., Arlington, 02174, (617) 643-4880.

Peace Links

Spreading the Word: Soviets Want Peace, Too

When Linda Carlson Shaw arrived in Soviet Union last October, she found self surprised at her own sense of surp "I thought I was pretty open-minded," says, "but I became aware of how m 'baggage' I was carrying."

What surprised Shaw was the vigo Soviet life and its similarities with life in United States: "They're busy, they're lau

s they take their kids to school, dad-
are pushing baby prams . . . ." Most
rtant, she says, "I got a real sense they
to get along with us."
ese images are ones Shaw has been
g to convey to members of the Phoe-
ommunity, where she lives and works
family counselor. Since returning from
ce Links-sponsored visit to Tbilisi, So-
Georgia, last fall, Shaw has spread the
l at coffee groups in friends' living
s, through interviews with local news-
rs, and in talks before schools, book
and church groups.
nple though her message may be,
says people seem surprised and im-
ed with it. "It's a side of the Soviet
le and Soviet life that our media
n't focus on," she says. While admit-
hat she sees serious limitations on So-
ivil liberties, Shaw says: "I try to take a
l look, to be a little more open, to
e that they have made some big strides
health, housing, human needs."
ke other Peace Links members, Shaw
een trying to translate her experiences
touring the Soviet Union into practi-
eps toward peace at home. The efforts
oing on across the country as follow-
the 16-day tour last October by 20
e Links members. Soviet women con-
d by Peace Links there have also
hed their own follow-up, working to-
s a permanent and ongoing U.S.-Soviet
en's exchange.
sides conveying her first-hand impres-
, Shaw says she encourages people to
action—to "use their citizenship." "If
have a personal opinion about the
race," she tells people,"they can write
er to their legislator." They can also
to someone in the Soviet Union, or
better, invite a Soviet visitor—
ght here by Peace Links—into their
e. Though nothing equals a trip to the
t Union for building citizen-level So-
American goodwill, Shaw believes,
e are lots of things people can do right
in this country, to enhance peace."
r more information, contact Peace
s, 747 Eighth St. SE, Washington, DC
3, (202) 544-0805.

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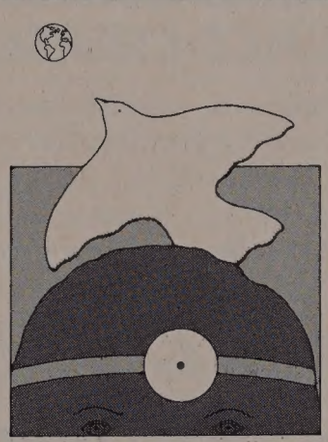

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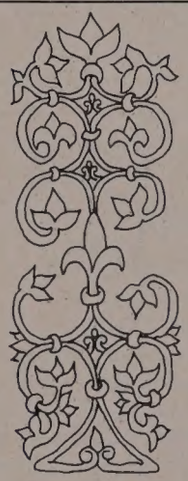

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ADPSR chapters in New York and Los geles recently sponsored inter-school p ning and design charrettes (intensive w sessions) on housing for the homeless.

In Los Angeles, a two-day charrette cussed on transitional housing for ho less families—for up to 60 days w longer-term housing solutions are fou Co-sponsored by ADPSR and the non-p Los Angeles Family Housing Corporat the program involved 50 students and faculty members from architecture, p ning and design programs at a numbe Southern California schools, including Southern California Institute of Archi ture, California State University—L Beach, and the University of Californi Los Angeles, where the weekend ev took place.

Objectives of the charrette were t fold: first, to generate ideas for proto transitional housing for homeless fam that could then be developed in the Angeles area by the Family Housing C poration; second, to provide an oppo nity for design students to confront th urgent and challenging problems with g ance from practicing professionals.

Leon Whiteson, architectural critic the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* an member of the jury for the charrette signs wrote: "The [ADPSR] Housing for Homeless charrette was a most welco sign that our architectural schools are coming increasingly aware of their so responsibilities in the Reagan era."

A similar project by ADPSR/New Y began with a kick-off meeting last Sept ber and ended in December with a f review at Pratt Institute. It was the sec annual inter-school project sponsored the chapter and offered a range of p grams to be used in two-day charrette mats or weeks- or semester-long invest tions. They examined both temporary permanent housing solutions.

Judith Sheine, co-chair of the ADPSR Schools Committee writes: "If we conti to commit large segments of our fed budget to the design, development production of nuclear and conventio weapons, this problem of homeless will only grow worse. As citizens we realize the consequences of our public p cies and work to change them. As ar tects, designers and planners we can b to make design solutions that could spond to those changes."

For copies of "Homelessness and L Income Housing: A Working Biblio phy" or a shorter bibliography comp by ADPSR/NY, *contact:* ADPSR, *225 fayette Street, New York, NY 10012, (334-8104.*

CALENDAR

ch

3/6, Washington, D.C. Phy-
ians for Social Responsibility
l hold its national meeting,
vill address "The Great De-
oices About Nuclear Weap-
988" at the Shoreham Hotel.
iscussions on nuclear weap-
ns control, the elections, the
physicians, and the social
the arms race. At the annual
anquet, PSR will honor Am-
r George F. Kennan. For
nformation, *contact:* PSR,
onnecticut Ave. NW, Suite
ashington, DC 20009, (202)
0.

ashington, D.C. Physicians
Social Responsibility will
ld National Lobby Day. To
contact: Jayne Murdock
9-5750.

y West, Florida. "Southern
nnections" caravan coordi-
ted by the Cape Action Com-
CAC) will travel throughout
thern United States stopping
to 10 nuclear facilities before
at the Nevada Test Site on
12. Participants are invited to
along the way. *Contact:*
Loomas, CAC, (305) 639-

nceton, New Jersey. Rev.
illiam Sloane Coffin, the
wly appointed president of
FREEZE, will speak at the
n for Nuclear Disarmament's
Dinner and Fundraiser. *Con-*
99) 924-5002.

ew York City. ADPSR and
ner peace groups will sponsor
alk on U.S.-Soviet summitry
ven by Paul Warnke at 6:00
entitled "Prospects for Arms
: Breakthrough or Break-
Contact: (212) 334-8104.

n Francisco. "What Can the
een Peace Movement Learn
m Three Decades of Envi-
tal and Social Change Or-
?" at 7:00 p.m. at the 3220
This is the third in a series of
Dialogues" organized to ex-
e convergence of ecological
gressive political visions and
lopment of an effective force
al change. For reservations,
(415) 845-4595.

Paul Warnke (left), former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, will speak on U.S.-Soviet summitry in New York on March 7. Above he makes a point with Kenneth Adelman, his successor at the agency.

11 Rochester, New York. "Project Clear—A Conference to Consider A Consistent Life Ethic." *Contact:* (315) 288-6146.

12 Nevada Test Site. "Reclaim the Test Site" occupation and blockade. The American Peace Test seeks maximum involvement in planning and decision-making by people all across the country. Organizers expect it to be the largest demonstration and series of non-violent resistance actions to ever visit the Nevada test site. Actions from 3/11-3/20. *Contact:* (503) 371-8002, American Peace Test, Salem, OR or (702) 363-7780, Las Vegas Hotline.

19 Washington, D.C. "How Are We to Live with the Soviets?" A live report featuring the Soviet and American authors of *Breakthroughs*, via satellite. *Contact:* Ed Kyser, Beyond War, (415) 328-7756.

To 3/22 Across America. More than 200 West Coast activists plan to ride the rails to Washington, D.C., in mid-March to lobby Congress with a "Citizen's Budget Resolution." The resolution calls for cutting defense spending and earmarking more money for social services and environmental protection. Passengers will depart from Seattle, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon, on March 19, make stops in Salt Lake City, Denver, Chicago and Philadelphia, and then pull into Washington on March 22. For more information, call the Citizens' Train at (503) 647-5796 or 295-6795.

23 United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, in conjunction with the National Student Action Center, are sponsoring a campaign to ban space weapons research from campus. On various campuses. *Contact:* (202) 543-1505.

27 Morristown, New Jersey. A "Walk of Conscience and Resistance," beginning at the General Electric/RCA plant on Palm Sunday, concluding on Good Friday, with civil disobedience at the G.E. Space Center in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Sponsored by the Brandywine Peace Community. *Contact:* (215) 544-1818.

April

5 New York City. Amnesty International is offering a workshop discussing AI's work on behalf of prisoners of conscience, as well as other prisoners around the world. The workshop will be held at 322 Eighth Ave. (corner of 26 St.), ninth floor, 6:30 p.m.

11 To 4/15 Buenos Aires, Argentina. The University of Buenos Aires will host an "International Symposium on Scientists, Peace and Disarmament." For more info, *contact:* Sec. de Extension Universitaria—Pab. II. Cdad. Universitaria. Tel 783-3099, Telex 18694 IBUBA AR.

15 Washington, D.C. United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War action at General Electric, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave. NW *Contact:* (202) 543-1505.

23 New Haven, Connecticut. Civil disobedience action in protest of the launching of the *USS Pennsylvania*, the tenth Trident submarine. *Contact:* Coalition to Stop Trident, (203) 789-1932.

May

8 Boston. The 5th Annual WAND Mother's Day Ball. Dr. Helen Caldicott will present leadership awards at WAND's biggest fundraiser of the year. Cocktails at 7:00 p.m. *Contact:* WAND (617) 643-4880.

Ongoing

International Peace Walk, the outgrowth of the Great Peace March that sponsored a joint, U.S.-Soviet walk in the Soviet Union last summer, plans two separate month-long walks, one in the United States beginning in mid-June, and the other in the Soviet Union beginning in late August. For more information, *contact* IPW, P.O. Box 53412, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 232-7055.

Chicago's Peace Museum."Drawing Hope: Exhibits from the Permanent Collection," featuring textiles, photographs, paintings, etc. focusing on peace and justice issues. Runs through August 1988. *Contact:* (312) 440-1860.

New Voices. Weekly half-hour radio program on social issues with a regular segment on alternative security. *Contact:* Public Interest Video Network 2309 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 797-8997.

Solutions for Survival. An eight-part nuclear awareness television series, including films on a test ban, Star Wars and the nuclear balance. Available for broadcasts arranged by local groups. *Contact:* Educational Film and Video Project, (415) 849-1649.

Information Hotlines: Nuclear legislation (202) 543-0006; Central America Legislation (202) 546-0664; Nicaragua (202) 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0804; nuclear tests (702) 363-7880; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

Compiled by Elise Holland, an intern at Nuclear Times.

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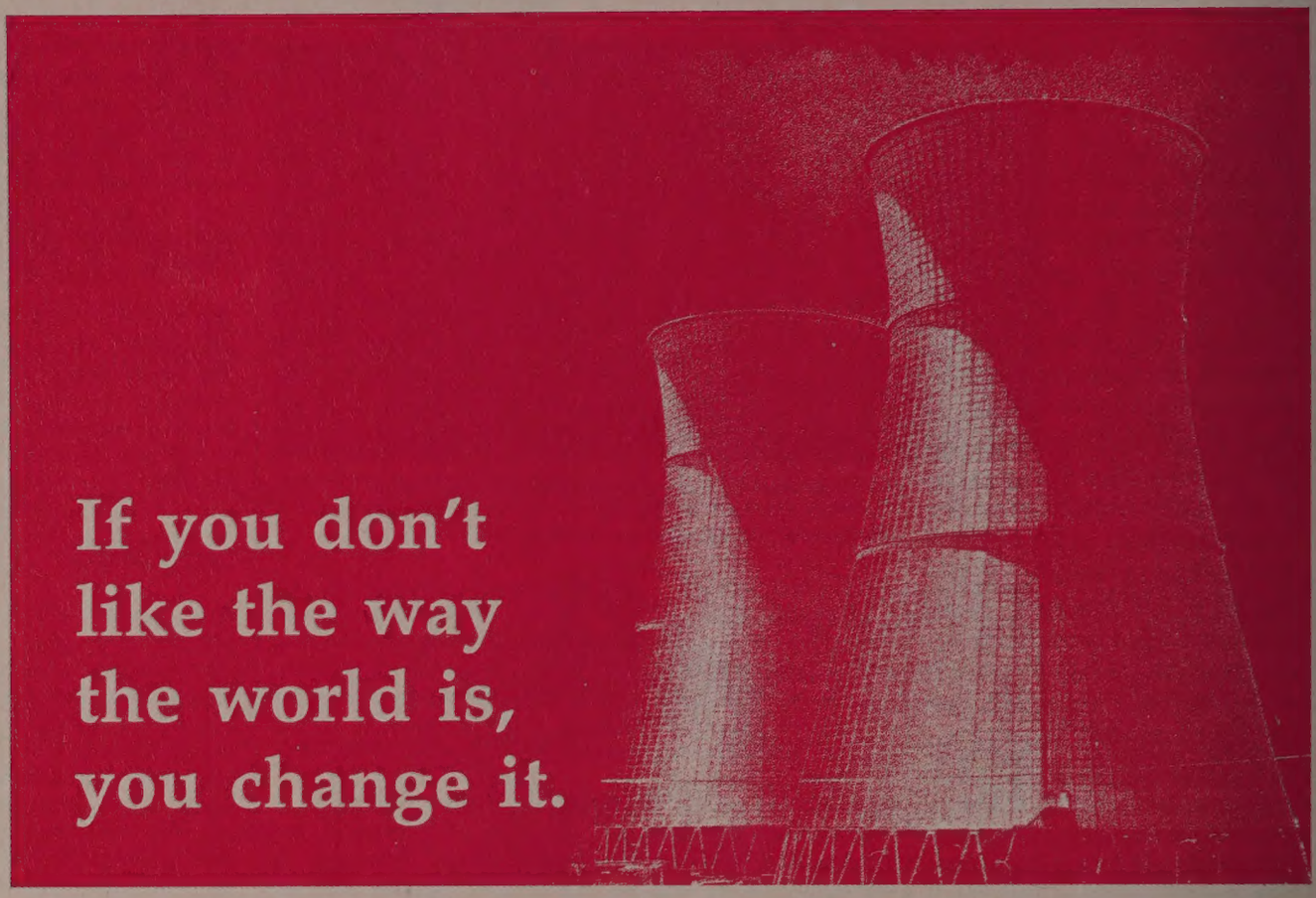

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